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TRAVELS

IN

RUSSIA,

&c. &c.

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BY

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TRAVELS IN RUSSIA,

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CHAPTER I.

Departure from St. Petersburg. — Pavlovsky, seat of the Empress Dowager. — Palace of Tzarskoe Selo. — Post-house at Podberos. — Extraordinary scene. — Novgorod. — —Rakhino.—Peasantry, &c.— Volochok. — River Tvertza. — Torzhok. — Chonogros. — Palace of Petrovsky. — Arrival at Moscow.

HAVING viewed the most interesting edifices and other objects at St. Petersburg, it was now our intention to proceed to the ancient capital of the empire, which had become more peculiarly interesting in consequence of the resistance it had made against Napoleon, the devastation it then experienced, and its subsequent rapid revival from almost total extinction. The road in this direction was really excellent, and we observed in various places several handsome wells, built of granite, and ornamented with sphinxes in the antique style. After proceeding about ten versts, we ascended a hill, a rare object

indeed in this country, called Pulkosky, and may be considered the Highgate of St. Petersburg, from which we enjoyed charming views of prodigious extent. Along the side of the road were a number of neat cottages, with gardens in front: many of these were built on an uniform plan; and in a hollow at a short distance further, we saw a kind of village, forming what is termed the German colony.

Turning off from the high-road, we visited the small château of Pavlovsky, the residence of the Empress Dowager. Although not destitute of elegance, the exterior of this edifice has no pretensions to any magnificence, but its interior contains many splendid apartments, and it is more spacious than it appears to be, the wings being nearly concealed by trees. The principal rooms, particularly that called the Lanthorn, contain some fine pictures; while superb vases of Siberian jasper, chimney-pieces of malachite, and lapis-lazuli, marble tables, and Gobelin tapestry, &c. produce a splendid effect. The chapel, which is connected with the house by a gallery, is tastefully fitted up, and hung at the altar-end with red velvet; it has also a copy of the celebrated Notte of Correggio. But this palace is not so remarkable for the works of art it contains, as the beauty of the grounds; in decorating which neither labour nor expense have been spared, and they may claim for this resi-

dence the appellation of the Stowe of Russia. They are laid out with admirable taste, and embellished with groves, lawns, parterres, and lakes; with grottos, obelisks, mausolea, and other ornamental structures; among which that erected to the memory of Paul, by his imperial widow, deserves notice. This shrine is situated within the recesses of a thick grove of fir and cypress, and has a portico of six granite columns of colossal dimensions. The monument itself, which is the production of the celebrated sculptor Martos, consists of a majestic figure, representing the Empress, who is weeping over the urn of her consort. The pedestal is ornamented with a bas-relief, and a medallion of the Emperor is affixed to the obelisk of red granite, that serves as a back-ground to the figure. The Empress's flower-garden contains no fewer than 15,000 flower-pots and vases filled with the most choice and rare plants, whose beautiful colours and delightful fragrance are quite enchanting.

Having gratified ourselves with inspecting all the beauties of this delicious retreat, we proceeded to Tzarskoe Selo, which was originally erected by Peter the Great, who presented it to his consort, but was rebuilt by Elizabeth, in 1744; was again improved and extended by Catherine II., and is now the summer residence of the imperial family. Every thing is here on a scale of extraordinary magnificence, and worthy the resi-

dence of a monarch. At one extremity there is a noble lake, flanked by a majestic terrace of massive polished granite; and over the canal communicating with that fine piece of water are three bridges of the same material. The banks of the lake are farther ornamented with three Gothic buildings, forming what is denominated the Admiralty; they being destined to serve as a shelter in winter to the elegant yachts, and other pleasure-vessels, that in fine weather are seen gliding over the glassy waters, reflecting their gilded sides and gay banners. On one part of this lake is a vast hall, built by the Empress Elizabeth for concerts; but the noblest architectural ornament is the superb rostral column, erected to commemorate Orlov's victory over the Turkish fleet at Chesme. On three sides of the granite pedestal are bas-reliefs, and on the fourth an inscription, recording that memorable action. What adds considerably also to the beauty of this scene, is the number of swans, ducks, and other aquatic birds that are to be seen on the lake and its banks. It would require some space to describe all the various objects that embellish this abode of royalty; the Gothic ruins; the Turkish kiosk, copied from one in the garden of the seraglio at Constantinople; the various Chinese and other pavilions; the magnificent triumphal arch, erected in honour of Count Gregory Orlov; another of

more recent date, to commemorate the achievements of the late war; the new terrace, &c. Let it suffice, therefore, to observe, that it is difficult to determine whether our admiration is most excited by the splendours of art or by the beauties of nature, which here exhibits a luxuriance that one would imagine absolutely impossible at the 60° of northern latitude. The palace itself, both for its extent and imposing appearance, may be considered as one of the noblest royal residences in Europe, although it has now lost much of its pristine magnificence; the roof, which was at first gilded, having been painted of a light green colour.

The principal rooms form an enfilade, and the pannels of their doors are richly gilded. Notwithstanding, however, all the elegance displayed in other respects, they are poorly furnished, with the exception of those occupied by the reigning Empress, which are at one extremity of the palace. In her study were a number of books in the French and English language. One of these was open, and we found it to be Captain Parry's Voyage, which she appeared to have been just looking over. Adjoining to these are the apartments of the Emperor. One room in this palace is entirely of amber; which was a present of Frederick I. of Prussia to Elizabeth; and the doors are inlaid with mosaic. In a spacious and lofty hall are portraits of Cathe-

rine II., and Anne, daughter of Peter. The grand banqueting-room or gallery, is 168 feet in length, by 91 in breadth, with 52 windows on each side, and contains specimens of antique china and large jars, piled from the floor to the ceiling. The floors are uncommonly fine, some of them being inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and others formed of porcelain of different colours. One room is fitted up in the Chinese style, with curious images, pagodas, &c. In this suite is the bed-room of Catherine II., where are columns of blue glass, so constructed as to appear to support the ceiling. From the windows is a beautiful view of the gardens and lake; and adjoining to it is a gallery decorated with flowers and bronze busts of the Roman emperors. On a flight of steps are enormous colossal figures of Hercules, &c. The adjacent village of Tzarskoe Selo contains 5000 inhabitants; and French restaurateurs are established here.*

Turning into the great road we prosecuted our journey. The post-boy, who wore long gloves, like those of men in armour, reaching nearly to his elbows, with a smart broad hat, ornamented with artificial flowers, was one of the merriest we had met with in this country, for he sang loudly during the whole stage, and appeared to depend

* Their charges were as follows: — soup, 3 rubles; beef steaks, 1 ruble, 50 copecs; beef, 1 ruble; salmon, 1 ruble; Medoc, 3 rubles per bottle; and glass of cogniac, 80 copecs.

more on his musical powers than on his whip, whenever he wished his horses to proceed at a quicker rate. We travelled all night, passing through Chondova, and villages where the houses were built of wood, and without chimnies, so that the smoke was forced to escape at the door. In consequence of the wood being laid level with the ground, these habitations must be damp, and consequently injurious to the health of the inmates; and many of them, from the want of a solid foundation, incline on one side. In North America a mode has been adopted in building to prevent humidity from the ground, which merits publicity: — When the foundation is raised two feet above the ground, a layer of sheet lead, of the same breadth, is placed upon it, and the walls are then continued on the lead, by which means the whole is secured from damp.

At Podberos, a curious scene, by no means uncommon at the post-houses, although apt, at first, to excite alarm in a traveller, took place. On the appearance of our equipage, a crowd of boors*, that were lying about near the door, set up a loud yell, contending among themselves who should furnish horses for the next stage. On such occasions lots are cast, by tossing up fruit, copecs, stones, or any thing else, in a hat, and the traveller must abide by their decision, as

* These boors at post-houses are exempted from particular taxes to government, and enjoy certain exclusive privileges.

it is in vain for him to interpose, or express any will of his own. A sketch of this extraordinary scene, taken on the spot, is given in the engraving in front of this volume. At the post-houses slices of raw turnip are handed about, with a spirituous liquor, as a whet before dinner, a practice that is also particularly observed in Sweden. We left this with small lean horses, and passed a military colony, respecting which an anecdote is related, with regard to a visit made to the place by the Emperro Alexander, for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of the soldiers. His Majesty having entered into a kitchen, observed a goose roasting, and on visiting a second saw a similar feast preparing; in short, in every kitchen he slipped into, he invariably beheld a goose upon the spit, and returned perfectly satisfied that the colonists had plenty of excellent cheer. It was, however, afterwards discovered, that he had been imposed upon; for, after all, there was only a single goose, which had been very dexterously conveyed from one kitchen to another, so as to be turning at the fire whenever he entered. This was a contrivance on the part of the governor, to impress His Majesty with a favourable idea of the flourishing state of this colony.

Novgorod, of which we now caught a distant view, bears a strong resemblance to a Turkish town, and makes an imposing appearance with its towers and spires; but on entering its gates,

the traveller finds the charm broken, at least the place itself does not answer the expectation created by its picturesque exterior. We were assailed by swarms of beggars, quite as numerous as those to be seen in any part of Italy. It is hardly possible to conceive a more complete contrast than that between this place and the gay capital we had lately quitted; for while the latter exhibits every sign of opulence and increasing prosperity, the former forcibly reminded us that the day of its pride and commercial glory has long since passed away. Novgorod the Great may be said to have fallen, and has now sunk into a state of decay, from which there is no hope of its ever emerging. Nor is the dissimilarity less striking in other respects: in St. Peterburg the style of living is perfectly European, and the fashions are those of London and Paris; here, on the contrary, the people have retained their national costume, and the customs of their forefathers. There is an air of antiquity cast over every thing, whether animate or inanimate. This city contains many ancient structures, all more or less famous in its annals; the most conspicuous and celebrated of which is the cathedral of Santa Sophia, a structure that has braved the storms of eight centuries, and witnessed both the prosperity and decline of Novgorod! This venerable pile, which may be denominated the patriarch of Russian churches, founded in 1045 by

Vladimir Yaroslávich, the grandson of Vladimir the Great, has six domes, the centre one of which, the largest of them all, is covered with gilt copper. The interior is confined and gloomy, in consequence of the thickness of the pillars, the paucity of the windows, and the dark hue of the walls, discoloured by the corroding hand of time; yet it contains many curious relics of art, and a number of frescos representing subjects from the Old Testament, and saints of the Greek church. These ornaments, however, are by no means so ancient as the structure itself. One work of undoubted, yet uncertain antiquity, and highly interesting to the antiquary, is what are called the Korsunsky *Vorota*, or doors, which have lately afforded much discussion to archæologists, and respecting which Adelung published a dissertation at Berlin in 1823. By some these are affirmed to have been executed by Greek, and by others by German artists, and even the origin of the name itself is involved in much obscurity. These doors are covered with plates of bronze, forming twenty-four pannels of different sizes; some of them are adorned with subjects in relief, from the Bible, and others with figures of Roman Catholic saints, which latter circumstance has been urged as a conclusive proof against their being of Greek workmanship. There are several inscriptions, both in Latin and Sclavonic, but these are considered as later

additions. In this cathedral are the relics of many eminent saints of the Russian church; and here rest the bodies of the brothers Johannes and Gregory, who were both archbishops of this city, and many of the grand dukes of Novgorod.

Another important structure, of which frequent mention occurs in the history of the city, is the *Vechevaya Bashna*, or tower of the senate, the sound of whose bell was wont, in times of old, to summon the inhabitants in every public emergency, or whenever any thing of importance was to be discussed in their council. These haughty republicans frequently ventured to oppose the wishes of the grand dukes of Moscow, and assert their own independence, till Ivan Vassilivich, III., to punish them for their meditated revolt and alliance with Poland, deprived them of their freedom, annulled the *veche* or senate, and carried off to Moscow the bell that had so long been regarded by the citizens as the palladium of their liberty and independence. The present kólokol, or tower, although an ancient structure, cannot be considered as the original fabric. It is of a square form, and the lower part is occupied by shops and ware-rooms, and the upper by chambers. The nobles and upper classes at Novgorod lead a very monotonous dull kind of life, make little show, and are, by no means, renowned for their hospitality. Neither are there any theatrical

diversions or concerts to be met with, and, in fact, the chief amusements seem to be the festivals and holidays. The lower orders have not only preserved their national costume, but likewise much of the spirit of their ancestors.

It may be observed that there is a great deal of posting on this road. Few travellers stop for the night at post-houses, but carry their bedding with them; for the carriages of persons of respectability are so constructed that they can stretch themselves at full length; and when not used, the bedding is packed at the back of the carriage where the servant sits. This custom must be allowed to be both economical and expeditious in travelling. On our arrival at the post-house in this place, the carriage was again surrounded by peasants, who annoyed us with their importunate clamours and officiousness.

After quitting Novgorod, the postilion stopped at his house, which was at the end of the street, and his wife and children came out, when he began to offer up prayer, on which each made the sign of the cross. All this was performed with as much formality as if he had been setting out on a long pilgrimage. The excellent road over which we had travelled to Novgorod did not, unfortunately, extend beyond that city, and we now entered upon one as bad as can well be imagined, formed of logs of wood, whose interstices were filled up with rubbish.

This vile road continued till we passed Bronnitza, nor did we see a single château or villa; a circumstance that may serve to account in some degree for the extraordinary badness of the roads, and the little attention paid to facilitating travelling; for we may reasonably suppose, that did the proprietors reside on their domains, they would take care not to incur the danger of being upset or jolted to pieces every time they stirred abroad in a carriage. We met, however, some hundreds of carts laden with goods: they were attached to each other in a line, in the same manner as those which convey coals on a rail-way. These vehicles, or *telegui* as they are called, were very low, had four wheels, and were drawn, some by one, others by two horses. The form of many of them was not a little singular, they being very deep, and somewhat like a boat without stern or bow; while others resembled the top of a square funnel. Some are so contrived, that the driver can stretch himself at full length, and sleep in front. Altogether they have an odd appearance at a distance, from their great number, and are not unlike the baggage-train of an army.

Through the wood we had now entered the road continued for eighteen miles. At one spot there was a crowd of labourers occupied in cutting down a hill, for the purpose of forming a new line of road. The country hereabouts presents a striking contrast to that we had

passed, it being diversified with hill and dale, and with meandering streams, while the beauty of the landscape was set off to the utmost advantage by a glorious sun gilding every part of the prospect around; in short, the view we now enjoyed was quite cheering, after the dull and uninteresting flat we had traversed from the capital.

We now reached the poor village of Zaïlsova; but as no accommodation was to be found for the night, we were forced to push forward, and the only refreshment we could obtain, was that beverage which "cheers but not inebriates," but without even so much as a slice of bread and butter. We here observed a rather singular way of nursing children: cradles in the form of a pair of scales were suspended in front of the houses from a pole, fixed in and projecting from the wall; and in these machines infants might be seen swinging in the open air. The loquacity of our postilion was altogether extraordinary, and we more than once thought he was soliloquising, but found he was engaged in a conversation with, or rather addressing a long harangue to, his horses, as if they could understand every word he uttered, promising them, by way of urging them to exertion, that they should be bountifully fed at the end of their journey.

The road now struck through a wood, and the shades of night having fallen, we stopped till the next day at Kretsi, a village si-

milar to the former, and the only place since we left Novgorod where we could find any accommodation. The inn-door was completely surrounded with a most extraordinary group of men, women, and children, all wrapped up in sheep-skins. Some were barefooted, while others had only shoes made of slips of wood. The beds here were laid upon a thick matting, such as is used for packing up goods; where, however, after the fatigues of the day, we welcomed repose, exclaiming with Sancho, "Blessed be he who first invented sleep — it covers a man all over like a cloak!" * A stove of brick, plastered; some daubs of pictures; a book-case, with a display of miserable crockery; old ricketty chairs, and a jumbling table; with a clock that would not go, constituted the whole furniture; while, to add to our further comfort, two of the panes of the window were broken, so as to admit more fresh air than was desirable. We certainly enjoyed also the beauties of wood and water; for the place itself was piled up with wood, the lower part of the building was laid under water; and by way of climax to the luxuries, the apartment next to us was literally crammed with persons enveloped in smoke, and drinking and singing.

* It is recommended to travellers to carry with them, as we did, leather sheets; which will be found comfortable, and prevent all danger from damp beds.

We set out next morning at five o'clock, in a complete deluge of rain, and travelled along a woody and sandy country to Rakhino, which is situated near an extensive lake abounding in cray-fish. Beyond this we crossed a hilly tract of red sand, and after travelling six versts descended to a pretty sheet of water, with a village on its banks, along which the road now ran. This led to Zimogore and Edravo, which were rather better villages than those we had passed; and here we were detained some time in consequence of one of the wheels of our carriage having been injured by the furious rate at which we had been driving. The weather was cold, and the thermometer stood four degrees lower than it had been at any period since we entered Russia. The dress of the females in this district was rather peculiar; for their hair was divided into two parts, platted, and hanging down their backs, with a riband attached at the extremity of each tail, as I observed among the females at Athens. They wore no stays, their shifts were drawn up to their collar bones, and had large hanging sleeves to the elbows. The rest of their apparel consisted of a short petticoat brought up under the arm, and suspended on the back by a broad top.

From what we observed of their husbandry, the peasantry appeared to have made no great proficiency in agriculture; for instead of rooting up

stumps of trees in the fields, they contented themselves with ploughing between them. The plough itself is very low, and of singular shape: some idea may be formed of it from a hay-fork, with a cross at top, to represent the handle, and shafts inside. Droves of white and grey oxen were to be seen in many places by the side of the road, with some of the herdsmen sleeping on the ground, and others lighting fires and boiling pots, so that they appear, like their animals, to live without shelter. In several villages the streets were not paved, but floored with planks of wood. From the great number of horses belonging to carts, that we saw unyoked, and straggling about on the sides of the road, it seems that it is not the custom for drivers to put up in the villages, but to turn them loose, and let them ramble where they choose. The owners, therefore, must have not a little confidence in the honesty of those who may pass by, for they leave their horses and goods quite unprotected, while they themselves indulge in sound sleep.

Beyond Khotilovo were beautiful views of two lakes, edged with wood, and scattered over with islands. Notwithstanding there is so much boggy land, the turf is not cut by the peasantry for fuel. In many parts the fields are inclosed with neat palings, and females were busy at the plough.

Volochok, in the government of Tver, where we next stopped, is pleasantly situated on high ground, with a river winding round it; and the interest of the scene is increased by a church in front of the road, which forms a picturesque object. In the great square in this town are three churches: the shops are under arcades, and the houses are of brick covered with plaster, painted yellow or white; and they looked doubly cheerful, after the gloomy and sombre aspect of the dark rude hovels of wood in the villages we had passed. Crowds of labourers were in waiting to be hired, and there were some hundred boats. We had not passed any toll-gates, nor fortifications, castles, ruins, gentlemen's seats, or even windmills; neither did we observe a single gibbet; the absence of which forms an agreeable contrast to some countries, especially the Italian states, where the legs and arms of criminals are so very often to be beheld suspended from the top of poles. A stranger might, at first, feel himself under some apprehension on entering the long dark woods, as they seem well adapted to serve as haunts for banditti, yet we found no kind of danger even in the most gloomy, dreary, and solitary spots. A terrible sandy road leads from hence to Vonidropusk, which lies on the side of a navigable river, where a good inn was building. A great uproar took place here also among the peasantry,

as to who should change our horses, and their clamour and altercation was so violent, that we apprehended the battle of tongues would be succeeded by one of fists. We often witnessed similar scenes, but the parties never came to actual blows; and being satisfied it was the custom among these people, we at length became reconciled to it. Here we were obliged to take six horses, the stations being at too great a distance for a lesser number. We crossed the river Tvertza along planks; and having passed through a wood, entered upon an open country, partly covered with ripe grain, and partly with grass, which females were employed in cutting down. Children were running about almost in a state of nudity, like those of the Arabs on the banks of the Nile. Our driver, who was a most gigantic figure, and of prodigious muscular strength, was one of the Cossacks who had accompanied the Emperor, with the Allies, to Paris, and he related some interesting anecdotes relative to that eventful period. We counted about twenty churches, several of which had domes, and were something in the eastern style of architecture.

On arriving at Torzhok, a considerable town, beautifully situated on a rapid river, we found the most respectable and neatest inn we had seen in Russia; it was built of smooth wood, with a portico, and painted yellow. The landlady of it was a Patagonian in point of stature,

and ludicrously, I had almost said alarmingly dressed, with a most singular cap, like a balloon, nearly three feet in height above the crown of her head.

Torzhok is famous for the manufacturing and embroidery of leather in gold and silver; and we were solicited to purchase some specimens by many who pressed upon us the moment we alighted. Among other articles formed of this material were cushions for carriages and other purposes, men's boots and caps, and ladies' shoes, some of which were very splendid, and well calculated to suit the taste of those who are fond of displaying gaudy finery. We purchased two narrow red cushions for about eleven shillings, which may serve to show the difference in the price of such articles here and in England. When the women here carry linen and clothes to wash, they suspend them at each end of a strong piece of wood, bent like a hoop, with the centre placed on one shoulder. There is a spring of water, that is the object of much superstitious veneration, being considered by the inhabitants as another pool of Siloam. On leaving this town we travelled along a flat country, and came to a river, on the other side of which lay the residence of General Klebova, built in the Italian mode, in a charming situation, surrounded with plantations: in fact, this was the only fine house seen since we had left Tzarskoe Selo.

Arriving at the Tver, where loose broad-bottomed vessels were towing up to the town, we proceeded along its banks, and passing a wooden bridge across it, came to Modena, changed horses, and pursued our journey through a country covered with wood, and over a most miserable road. Although beasts of prey are said to infest these woods, we had the good fortune not to be attacked by them, or even to see one of any description. Once, however, a bear bolted out upon the person who was travelling with the mail-bag, which latter the terrified horse and its rider left in Bruin's possession, making their escape as quickly as possible; and many of the letters were afterwards found scattered about. In one place several houses were completely under water, and others on the point of falling from being undermined by it. The villages reminded us of those in Italy, inasmuch as they have always an elegant church, and when seen at a distance may be taken for towns. We again counted forty spires. The town of Werst is divided by a river, and there is a palace on its banks. We crossed a bridge of boats, and arrived at the hôtel de Milan, where we heard the French language spoken. After travelling during night we reached Zavidoro, passing images with lights burning before them; and there was an enormous box, se-

cured with iron bars, to receive donations for the poor.

In the course of this stage we were frequently accosted by persons holding a plate, and imploring, for the love of God, that we would give them alms for the benefit of the church, as is the practice in Catholic countries. On passing one church, our driver gave a tolerable specimen of the profound respect shown to the externals of religion, by most ceremoniously taking off his hat, and remaining uncovered till it was nearly out of sight: at least no one can accuse this people of want of decency, as far as regards whatever is connected with the forms of devotion. The fields were neatly inclosed with wooden palings; and on each side of the road were lofty spruce firs. We met several hundred carts of the singular shape before described, drawn by oxen, and forming one lengthened cavalcade. After passing Kline we crossed a bridge over the river Sisara, and drove by a mansion belonging to a French general. About this spot many persons were stopping and making the sign of the cross, nor could we possibly conceive the reason of this apparent devotion, until, at last, we discovered there was a church at the distance of three miles that had attracted their eye, and caused this ceremony. We again saw several hundred carts drawn by oxen, with bells fixed to the poles; some of which

had broken down under their heavy loads, and were repairing on the spot. Many of them belonged to hawkers, who were bivouacking on the side of the road, and who exhibited brooms on poles to denote that they had articles for sale, just as it is customary in England to affix a broom to the top of the masts of vessels that are for sale. Their trade could not have been very brisk, as there were but few passengers to be met with. Our driver, a grotesque figure, with a long beard, and wrapped up in an enormous sheep-skin, having discovered that he had lost his great coat, which he had put under his feet, and a pound of tea that was wrapped up in it, dismounted, fell down and kissed the ground with the greatest humility, and continued to utter, for some minutes, the most direful lamentations, imploring us for a sum to replace his loss. Our servant, however, assured him that he must be under a mistake, as he had never seen the coat. Whether, therefore, he had actually lost it, or left it at the place from which he set out, we did not know; if, however, he intended to impose on us, he certainly acted his part inimitably. Yet a great coat was not an article of dress for which he appeared to have any occasion, as he was already perspiring under the enormous weight of the sheep-skin in which he was enveloped.

As we were now approaching Moscow, it was not a little strange that the road should be so

detestably bad, especially as more is demanded for horses when hired from the town, than in the interior. In this wretched track we often stuck fast, and were obliged to leave the carriage, being apprehensive that it would be upset. We had a proof of the exertions the animals were obliged to make in travelling over this vile road, from seeing those which had dropped dead, and whose carcases were covered with ravens picking out their eyes.

Passing some beautiful churches and convents, finely situated, we came to Tchonogros, where there was a tolerable inn. After this the same wretched quagmire, which is a disgrace to the government, continued; and we passed several carts which had broken down. The wheels for raising water from wells in front of houses, are so enormous, and have such lofty and huge machinery, that they might be taken for the frame-work of an exhibition for fire-works. This happening to be a *fête* day, groups of both sexes were sitting at their doors, as formally as if they were holding a deliberate council on the affairs of the state; the men on one side, and women on the other. Within nine versts of the city, the spires and green roofs of Moscow became visible. We now passed the palace of Petrovsky, which is a square brick edifice, with a dome in the centre, and round towers, standing on a heath, and commanding

a most extensive view. It is from this palace that the sovereigns of Russia set out, whenever they make a public entry into Moscow. This was also considered by Bonaparte as a convenient spot for his residence, on his hearing that the "snare was laid for him, and a trap in the way," by the Kremlin having been set on fire.

After posting for six days from St. Petersburg, we now entered the gates of the ancient capital. On each side of the barrier is erected a column of brick, covered with plaster, and surmounted by the imperial crown. So soon as the carriage came up, the sentinel on duty shut the gate, domanded the podrozhna, and took it to the guard-house, when several questions were put to us, especially as to our really being the individuals there named and described. Being satisfied as to our identity, the passport was next required, and examined; and we were even asked at what hotel we intended to reside. After this, we were permitted to proceed; and drove to a hotel kept by a German, where we had to submit to another scrutiny, and answer a number of questions highly irksome to the feelings of Englishmen.

CHAP. II.

The Kremlin. — Architecture. — Holy Gate. — Prospect. — Great bell. — Treasury. — Immense cannon. — Church of the Assumption. — Royal cemetery. — Churches. — Foundling hospital. — Galitzin's hospital. — Sheremetiev hospital. — Countess Orlov's palace. — Imperial stables. — Carriages. — Funeral ceremonies. — Streets, &c. — Superstitions. — Frauds of shopkeepers. — Cossacks. — Platov.

It was with feelings stronger than those of mere curiosity that we entered a city whose so recent and almost utter destruction had formed an important crisis in the affairs of Europe, and checked the triumphant career of him whose steps had every where been marked by desolation. But of the dreadful conflagration few traces remained, and Moscow had sprung up again from its ashes so completely, that one a stranger to the fact would never have imagined that hardly ten years had elapsed since the devouring flames had laid waste its streets, sweeping away palaces, churches, and houses in one common ruin. It was like visiting a plain after a tremendous tempest, and finding nature herself renovated by the preceding contest of the elements.

Mät Moscow, or literally Mother Moscow, as it is familiarly designated by the natives, or, as it is denominated by some foreigners, the Palmyra of

the north, is regarded as the most venerable of all the Russian cities. Yet notwithstanding the high antiquity frequently claimed for them by historians, the actual identity of cities is very problematical; for excepting here and there some particular building, the changes they undergo in the course of centuries are so great as not to leave a single fragment of their original structure, and the names belong rather to their sites than to the buildings.

Thus Moscow is said to have existed from the end of the ninth century; in other words, there was then erected a fortress or military station here, that served as a nucleus for the future city. But the Kremlin, as it stands at present, dates no farther back than 1485, when the present constructions were commenced by Ivan Vassilivich III., who employed two Italian architects, Marco and Pietro Antonio. It was to this celebrated edifice, or rather assemblage of edifices, that we first directed our steps on commencing our peregrinations through the city; and although many of its structures might be pronounced barbarous by those who can see no beauty except in classical architecture, or that which has since been founded upon it, there is something very piquant in their physiognomy; while the contrast of the various groups, — the variety and brilliancy of their colours, — with their towers and domes, form a scene in the

highest degree picturesque, and worthy the attention both of the painter and the architect. With the exception of Constantinople, and some parts of Venice, there is no city in Europe that exhibits such striking peculiarity and originality in the character of its edifices. The style of architecture we here meet with is totally distinct from that termed Gothic, although, as in that, we find great altitude, numerous perpendicular lines, bold contrasts, and variety of outline. Some of its principal features are, the lofty slender towers, and bulbous domes, almost invariably gilt or painted, sometimes, too, fantastically wreathed, which, instead of rising immediately from the roof, are often placed on the summit of towers, and expanding somewhat like a balloon with its lower extremity cut off, their larger diameter being considerably greater than that of the tower on which they are placed. Another characteristic is the number of these cupolas, and, of course, their smallness compared with the general mass of the building which they crown. Thus the principal decoration is confined to the summit of the edifices, the side walls and their apertures being comparatively plain; in which respect this style differs considerably from the Gothic, where spacious windows filled with tracery, buttresses, niches, &c. form such conspicuous features. This style is likewise remarkable, not merely for its forms, but the colours introduced; whereas both in

the Gothic and other styles, we meet with no other hue than that of the material itself, whether stone or an imitation of it.

The *Pokrovskoi Sobor*, or cathedral of the protection of the Virgin, and the tower called *Ivan Veliki*, are the two finest specimens of this style. The former seems quite a fairy erection,—so gay, and fantastic; with its peaked domes of various heights, dimensions, and forms, clustering round the central obtuse spire like a bunch of flowers. Indeed, the diversity observable in these features is fully equal to that of the Gothic style. Those who have not visited Moscow, may form some general idea of the effect of such domes from the Pavilion at Brighton. The last-mentioned structure is, it must be admitted, very unfavourably situated, is deficient in point of height, and has no gilding or brilliant colours to set it off; yet so far from meriting the vituperation that has been bestowed on it, as being a gew-gaw edifice, by those who only saw that it was neither Grecian, Italian, nor Gothic, and, therefore, quite foreign to any standard with which they were acquainted, it is an edifice which, had it not been built by an English architect, or erected in our own island, would, undoubtedly, have been as much admired as it has been censured.*

* Mr. Nash's work on this building, lately published, with coloured views, is as interesting as it is splendid.

The Kremlin may be described as forming an irregular polygon, with towers at each angle; yet this vast enclosure exhibits no regularity, either of plan or style of architecture. Its lofty walls are sixteen feet in thickness, and were formerly surrounded by a ditch, on the site of which a garden has recently been laid out, so as partly to surround the Kremlin with walks, shrubberies, &c. forming a promenade, enclosed with a cast-iron railing.

There are five gates, over one of which is an image, with lamps burning before it, of a saint who, it is said, was instrumental in delivering it from an attack of the Poles. This conducts us to a great square adjoining, and is held in great reverence, as every one takes off his hat on passing through it; and we saw many persons bowing to it, and crossing themselves, with great appearance of devotion. Indeed, some danger would be incurred, should a stranger omit to show due respect to it, as he would be unpleasantly reminded of his negligence by the guards who are stationed here. Notwithstanding, however, the maxim, that when you are in Rome you should do as they do at Rome, we were not disposed to "bow down or worship any image;" but perfectly willing to submit to the consequences. It is rather doubtful in what this custom originated, as it is supposed to have prevailed before any image of the Virgin was

erected; yet, it is probable that it was ordered, that the most profound obeisance and respect should be paid by every one on entering the precincts of the palace occupied by the sovereign. A curious incident occurred just as we were entering this "Holy Gate," as it is called: on the outside, and in a corner concealed from view, a respectable person had incautiously yielded to a natural necessity, and turned his face towards the wall, on which a woman, whose zeal was certainly greater than her sense of decorum, set up a violent hue and cry; and the unfortunate transgressor was seized, and hurried to the guard-house. A crowd assembled, and all agreed that he had committed the grossest act of impiety and indignity. Of this occurrence we were witnesses; but what was the punishment inflicted for this, in our eyes, most trifling offence, if it can indeed be termed one at all, whether the culprit was despatched to Siberia to learn better manners, we had no opportunity of ascertaining.

On passing through this archway, we came to an extensive area (407 feet in breadth, by 1800 in length,) where is a mass of irregular buildings huddled or jumbled together, just as in the tower of London. We were particularly struck with the churches — their fanciful architecture, gay colours, and gilded crests. At one place is a small circular walk, paved with brick, from

which is an exceedingly fine panoramic view of one part of the town and river. We afterwards ascended the octagon tower of the Kremlin, which is upwards of 300 feet in height. The prospect from the summit is indescribably grand; the eye rests on countless spires, domes, and churches; on palaces, and palace-like edifices, lofty towers, and, in short, on the whole city. This beautiful *coup-d'œil* is farther enlivened by a view of the windings of the river, and of the great road leading to Smolensk. A highly interesting scene might be made for a panorama from this spot.

The most striking edifice is the Foundling Hospital, in front of the river, which is on a scale of great magnificence. The river is dirty, and shallow, resembling the Seine in some parts of Paris; it is, however, surprising, that it has not been ornamented with a fine substantial bridge, in place of the present antiquated one.

The natives have ample opportunities of knowing the hours of prayers, from the number of bells. Some of these are of incredible magnitude, and, compared with ordinary bells, might be considered as heavy pieces of ordnance by the side of pocket pistols. The most celebrated is one that formerly belonged to the tower of Ivan Veliki, which fell during a conflagration, from a height of 270 feet, and sunk into a great cavity in the ground. From its magnitude,

it has been denominated the monarch of bells; and is held to be the largest in the world, even exceeding in weight one in Pekin, which is nearly 200 tons. According to some accounts, it weighs 5000 cwt.; and according to others, 360,000 lb. English. The height is 20, and the diameter 22 feet. It seems to have been rung only on festivals, and on occasion of the arrival of ambassadors; yet at the same time it must be owned there is great room to doubt whether, in fact, it was suspended at all; its magnitude being such as to render this almost impossible. At present it is altogether useless, and quite unaccountable that not the slightest attempt has been made to raise, recast, and hang it on the tower, where it would undoubtedly be an object of greater interest than it now is, half-buried, and utterly useless. On descending to view this colossal piece, or, as it may with propriety be called, hill of metal, we found the cavity similar to a vast well, 100 feet in circumference, with scaffolding round its sides, and the bell itself ornamented with effigies of our Saviour, with religious subjects, and an inscription.

Superstition appears "to hold her iron sway" in this place as well as at St. Petersburg; for to present bells, or pictures and silver decorations of the portraits of saints to a church is held in this country as a most meritorious act, and the piety of the donors is rated according to the

value of their gifts. I know not if these bells undergo baptism; this, however, is common in France, where prayers are also offered, imploring the Almighty "to sanctify and pour upon them his Holy Spirit, that the devil may be afraid, and fly at the sound of them!" Thus is Christianity debased and unspiritualised, and so mixed up with gross and ridiculous superstition, that when such abuses are once seen they are apt to be confounded with the religion on which they have been engrafted, and to lead men to suspect that the whole forms a system of imposition and priestcraft, invented merely to enable one class to delude and tyrannise over the rest. In Catholic states Atheism is more prevalent than in those where freedom of opinion is tolerated; because in the former a man has no alternative between blind superstition or an utter rejection of the creed that imposes it.

It would be a task of no little labour and extent to describe the various buildings of the Kremlin. In one part we were conducted over a suite of rooms, where a throne is erected, in a hall of audience in front of the river; and we were shown the bed-chamber where Bonaparte slept, or rather, it might be said, meditated, during his restless ambitions and stratagems. It may be doubted, however, if this extraordinary character ever enjoyed the sound repose of the "sea-boy."

The display of jewellery and wealth in the Treasury of the Kremlin is such as almost to exceed belief, and absolutely to dazzle the beholder, the place being actually piled to the very roof. One of the most interesting, if not most valuable relics, is the crown of Stanislaus of Poland, with the chain of the Order of the White Eagle. No one can look upon this diadem without giving a sigh to the fate of that unfortunate prince, whose dominions were so unjustly wrested from him. When the struggles of Poland for its independence are called to mind, and the manner in which that country was overpowered by the forces of Russia and Prussia, well may we exclaim with the poet, that

"Freedom shriek'd when Kosciusko fell."

Never let it be forgotten, that this mild and inoffensive monarch was forced to lay down his crown, and become a state-prisoner, while his kingdom was cut up and partitioned. As a refinement, too, of tyranny and oppression, he was compelled to be present at Paul's coronation, and tamely to listen while it was proclaimed to the world that his kingdom had been incorporated with Russia. So great was his agitation of mind on this occasion, that he almost fell down on the spot. Stanislaus died in 1798, and it may, in truth, be said, of a broken heart. His royal robes, nay, his very clothes, were brought to the

hammer, and sold by auction; yet, shedding crocodile tears, and acting the part of a most accomplished hypocrite, Paul embraced his coffin, and attended the funeral. Every true patriot, whatever be his country, must reprobate the invasion and seizure of Poland, which was as base an act of injustice and spoliation as if a person were to invade his neighbour's estate, and forcibly make him a prisoner, dividing his property between himself and his abettors.

But to return to the description of the Treasury. Among the imperial crowns, which are kept beneath glass cases, is that worn by Paul when he was declared Emperor; there are also sceptres, gold and silver vessels set with precious stones, watches, insignia of different orders, medallions, cups, &c., and an embossed silver goblet, given in 1620 to the patriarch Philarete by James I. of England. We also observed the throne on which Peter was crowned, which has a curtain at the back of it. It is pretended that his sister Sophia stood behind, and prompted him what he should say on that occasion. Adjoining this room is an armoury, containing weapons of all nations — swords, sabres, colours, saddles, and splendid housings and caparisons for horses; one of the latter was a present from the Sultan, others from the Tzars and distinguished personages. We were shown a diamond aigrette, presented to Catherine II. at the conclusion of peace in 1775;

a chair, in which Charles XII. was carried from the field when wounded at the battle of Pultava; and some ancient military caps, lately dug up, having a circular ornament in silver of an archangel; also the model of an immense palace, designed by the architect Bazhanov, which Catherine intended to erect in the Kremlin. There is, in short, no collection of the kind that contains such a profusion of riches. After all, however, the mass of treasure deposited produces no effect, thus crowded together as in a warehouse; but that which would suffice to adorn half-a-dozen palaces, forms in appearance only a jeweller's shop; and except it be desirable to make strangers stare, the articles, in reality, might as well be buried at once in a cellar. Such a place is no doubt highly interesting in itself in the eyes of a goldsmith or Jew, who would prefer a stock of watches, trinkets, cups, &c. to the finest works of art; but an apartment may be so crammed with furniture, that, however costly the articles it contains may be, the room itself will resemble a broker's shop.

If the Russians are famous for casting bells of enormous weight, they may be considered equally so for gunnery; for in the arsenal is to be seen a cannon, that was cast, in 1556, on a scale of extraordinary magnitude, with a calibre of 120 lb. The object of making it so large is said to have been to strike terror into the Tatars who had

come to Moscow. It certainly has recently proved useful in one respect — for a child was born within this machine of death; so that the young Russian may be said to have been shot into the world from a cannon's mouth.* There are deposited here 875 field-pieces †, and 43,000 muskets.

With regard to the churches, many of them commemorate either a distinguished military action, or some other remarkable event. The principal ones are those of the Nativity, Protection of the Virgin, Assumption of the Angel Gabriel, of the Trinity, and of the Transfiguration. The most splendid and magnificent one within the Kremlin is that of the Assumption, where the Russian monarchs are crowned. This was originally founded in 1325, but was almost rebuilt in 1771. The walls are painted in fresco; and it is crowded with pictures of traditionary saints. There is a figure of the Virgin here, on whose head a diamond was lately placed, of the value of 15,000 rubles. The dress of Christ is shown; but to believe that it is genuine requires a degree of faith far beyond what we were possessed of. Every thing is employed that can

* This enormous gun rivals the great piece of ordnance in the Tower, called by the Scots, to whom it originally belonged, "Mons Megg," and which was made when James IV. sat on the Scottish throne.

† The art of casting cannon was first introduced into Russia in 1482.

wind up the mind to the highest state of superstition. One large apartment, with an altar, inclosed by a massy brass railing, is pretended to be a representation of the tomb of our Saviour at Jerusalem; yet, having seen both, I may be allowed to assert, that there is not the slightest similarity. Any thing of this kind, however, exhibited in churches, although quite imaginary, never fails to make the deepest impression on the Russians, and is received by them as genuine.

Next in point of rank is the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael, which is a kind of Westminster Abbey, or royal cemetery. This is quite enveloped in gloom, the light being principally admitted from the door. The bodies of the Tzars are deposited in stone coffins above ground. These amounted to forty in number, and were all covered with red velvet, on which was marked a white cross. The date of the most ancient was 1333. Judging from the number of churches in this capital, we should be led to suppose that the Moscovites are, more than any nation in the world, distinguished for righteousness, since these religious edifices amount to about 1500, which is far more than sufficient for the population. Within, the walls are covered with pictures of the Virgin Mary and saints, with lights burning before them, as in Catholic churches; and some of these are decked out in the most ludicrous

manner, with shrines of gold, silver, and precious stones. In truth, these people carry their adoration of pictures absolutely to idolatry. Some of the churches are of wood, painted light green, with domes of copper or tin, gilt and painted. Many have bulbous cupolas, and other singular superstructures above the roof, which reminded me of some of the Turkish mosques. These domes are surmounted by the crescent as well as the cross, which is accounted for by the Tatars having taken down the cross, and hoisted the crescent, and the former being, in its turn, hoisted over the latter.

The Russians seem to interpret literally the text, "Let your light shine before men," for candles are kept burning almost constantly before the altars; and we observed many miserable objects in rags come and deposit their glimmering tapers, seemingly satisfied that they were performing a truly meritorious act of piety, and honouring the Almighty; but they are, I fear, far more attentive to outward forms and ceremonies than to spiritual worship. No books are used; but the service seems to consist entirely in crossing themselves, and bowing to the ground. Fête days are infinitely more venerated than the Sabbath; and although on the latter shops are open and persons at work, yet on the former the shops are closed, and no kind of business or traffic pursued: thus transferring the wor-

ship due to God to saints, whose title to such respect is frequently very questionable. This subject never can be brought too often into view, and it is impossible to reconcile such practices either with the word of inspiration, which commands, most expressly, the seventh day to be sanctified, in commemoration of God having then rested from his stupendous labours; or with the regard due to the Christian Sabbath, as the day of the resurrection and glorious ascension of his Son Jesus Christ. During Lent and Easter, in particular, the natives might be supposed actually to outstrip all others in religion. This is a period of complete starvation, and it is held to be actually meritorious to abstain from animal food. At this season the images in the streets, and those stuck up in houses, have new dresses and ornaments. The primate bathes the feet of twelve men, in imitation of the similar act of humility shown by Christ to the apostles. Thousands pour into this place, crossing themselves on the forehead, shoulders, and breast. In fine, superstition here almost exceeds all that can be figured of the bigotry even of Roman-Catholicism itself. If, however, we cannot say that the devotion practised here is particularly edifying, the manner in which these festivals are kept renders them fully as amusing as an English horse-race or fair; so that they are in as great esteem with sinners as with the saints themselves.

The continued rattling of bells from morning to evening is truly annoying: we were absolutely deafened by them; and our sleep was sadly disturbed, especially by those of a church opposite our hotel. There is one bell that has a very solemn hollow tone, similar to the distant rolling of thunder. Yet although these brazen-tongued instruments are never silent, no organs or other musical instruments are permitted in the churches. There is a patriarchal palace, founded in 1655, by the metropolitan Nikon, in which are many rich and costly sacerdotal dresses and ornaments.

The next object that attracts attention is an institution that is, perhaps, unrivalled by any thing of the kind in Europe, and which cannot fail to obtain the approbation of every humane mind. This is the Hospital for Foundlings; and whatever may be said as to such establishments being favourable to illicit love, they doubtless prevent infanticide, and thus save many valuable lives. This truly magnificent edifice was founded in the reign of Catherine II. in 1762, and may, with great justice, be considered the glory of Moscow. We visited the chapel on Sunday morning, and found a number of children, of both sexes, all very clean and neat, who are classed and distinguished by particular dresses. The girls wear green gowns and white tippets; the boys, white pantaloons, with yellow and

black striped jackets. After the service, each class walked out preceded by its teacher. We were invited by one of the Directors to accompany him to the dinner-rooms; and first entered that of the boys, which is up stairs. On saying grace, they turned round to a picture of the Virgin and child, with a light burning before it. The dinner itself seemed good, consisting of soup, meat, potatoes, &c. We then went down stairs to see the girls, who dined in the same form. After which we visited the nurses' apartments, and those on the ground floor, where were several clerks sitting at their desks. Here the infants are received publicly, and no question asked of those who bring them, except whether the child has been baptized; and if not, that rite takes place at a font in an adjoining room; it is afterwards examined by a medical attendant, and is vaccinated. Each infant is numbered and registered in a book; and the person who brings it, receives a copy of the number, which entitles him to call for the child at any time, and enables him to recognize it. There were in the house at this time, including those sent out to nurse, the extraordinary number of 13,000; and we were informed, that from the 1st of January to the 27th of August, the day of our visit, there had been 3203 infants taken in; and that 3000 more were expected the following year, or from about twenty to thirty are received daily! The children

sent to the country are visited by persons appointed to see that the nurses discharge their duty. On attaining the proper age, the boys are put out as apprentices to different trades, and some of the girls to service in the city, while others are taught lace-making, and some are educated for governesses. There are two infirmaries, and about twenty medical men, attached to this most noble institution.

The other hospitals and benevolent institutions are too numerous to describe severally; but that of Galitzin merits particular notice. It was founded by the Grand Chamberlain of that name, and cost one million of rubles; but could not now be erected for less than five times that sum. It is reported that Galitzin had, on some occasion, incurred the displeasure of Catherine, who demanded either that he should build an hospital, or be despatched to Siberia; and he accordingly preferred his liberty, although purchased at so great an expense. The wings of the building are very extensive, and it has six columns in front. Patients of all nations, who labour under disease, are most humanely received here, and attended gratuitously. There were 510 at this time. On a table beside each bed is a board, with a statement of their several diseases. The rooms are commodious; but the windows are too small to admit a proper current

of air, which is a great defect, ventilation being of the utmost importance in all places of this kind. The church is in the form of a rotunda, surrounded by columns; and a bust of the founder is placed opposite to the altar. The vocal music was most sublime and delightful. At the time we entered, the doors of the altar were thrown open, on which the priest came forth with a cup and spoon. Some children were then brought forward, and a spoonful of wine, from the cup, was put into their mouth, on which they made a bow. In this manner was the sacrament administered; and it seemed extraordinary that it should have been given to those of so tender an age.

The next is the Sheremetiev hospital, built by the Grand Chamberlain, Count Sheremetiev, in 1803, an elegant edifice in the form of a crescent, with a portico in the centre leading to the church. The apartments, which are numerous, are remarkably clean, and well ventilated. On the 23d of February, the anniversary of the Count's death, donations are distributed to the inmates. He bequeathed an annual donation of 23,000 rubles for the infirm and diseased; and, together with the sum left by Count Dimitri, there is a revenue of 117,142 rubles for the support of this excellent charity. No one can hear of such institutions, and of those Samaritans

who administer to the wants of suffering humanity, without exclaiming —

> " Bless'd be those
> Whose lives are consecrated to the toil
> Of ministering around the uncurtain'd couch
> Of pain and poverty; blest be the hands
> That mix the cup medicinal, that bind
> The wounds which ruthless warfare and disease
> Have to the lazar-house consigned."

The university, founded in 1754 by the Empress Elizabeth, is a fine building, with a portico of the Pæstum Doric order, a cupola, and contains several saloons. In the rotunda, or central hall, is a bust of the Emperor Alexander. The professors amount to thirty. A library, which occupies a fine gallery and two other rooms, contains about 30,000 volumes, chiefly the gift of the Emperor. There is also a museum of natural history*, and an anatomical cabinet, purchased by His Majesty for 10,000 rubles. The chemical laboratory exceeds all the other collections, in point of richness; and there are 360 models, of different crystals,

* There is one remarkable pearl in this capital, said to have been brought from the East Indies, described as unequalled in the world, and of considerable weight. It is spherical; and the colour exceeds the metallic splendour of highly-polished silver, but at the same time possesses the most transparent brightness. When separated from its coverings, and put on a sheet of white paper, it rolls upon the surface like quicksilver.

formed in wax. The physical cabinet once contained 300 instruments, but these were greatly reduced at the period of the conflagration. The cabinet of coins contained 5000 medals. A botanical garden has lately been added to the pharmaceutical school, founded in 1822; and a school has been established for instruction in the different branches of agriculture.

Among the private edifices, one of the most remarkable is the palace of the Countess Orlov, who is the most opulent individual in the whole of the Russian dominions; and, at one period, a match was attempted to be brought about between this lady and the Grand Duke Constantine; but it could not be accomplished, and she still remains single, preferring a life of celibacy and independence to the fetters of wedlock. We found it impossible to obtain access to the interior of this palace, and were obliged to content ourselves with admiring the front, which is adorned with statues; and with rambling about the gardens. In the latter is a charming view, with a meandering river. They are laid out with greater taste than any we had seen in this country; and the trees were as healthy and blooming as those in the finest parts of England. There is a small temple here, and the late Emperor used often to pass some time at this beautiful spot.

Our steps were next directed to the imperial

stables, with which we were greatly disappointed, both the situation, and the building itself, being mean in the extreme, and not at all what we expected to find. Over the stalls, of which there are only forty, are written the name and pedigree of each horse. White cloths edged with red, and adorned with a figure of the national eagle, are thrown over the animals' backs. The cribs are of iron, fixed at the sides of the stalls, and straw-matting is laid under their feet. The adjoining riding-school is prodigious in point of breadth and length, with galleries at each end for spectators. The roof has been taken off, under the idea that the wood was not dry, and replaced by a new one. The extraordinary number of 6000 soldiers have been exercised here at one time; and it is said that it can contain 20,000!

The imperial carriages are twenty-seven, and of these seventeen are of extraordinary dimensions, of curious appearance, and great antiquity; and many were presents from different sovereigns. Some of them are positively not one foot above the ground; others are similar to the state coach of the Lord Mayor of London, massy, clumsy, and gaudy.

One resembling a house, placed upon a sledge, contains tables, sofas, and accommodations for a number of persons, so that a journey may be made in it without the least inconvenience,

even when it is at full speed; and in such a vehicle travellers may dine, sleep, read, write, or play cards, just as in a room. It was in this huge machine that Elizabeth I. travelled from St. Petersburg, in the depth of winter; and the Empress Catherine, also, in the course of several visits to this capital, during the same season, frequently made the journey from St. Petersburg in four days; but Peter I. is said to have performed it in forty-six hours, being drawn by twenty-four horses, which were changed at each stage. Even in our own carriage we rarely stopped, but had provisions, with dinner apparatus, and read, &c. although driven with such rapidity.

On returning to the street, our attention was attracted by a funeral procession, preceded by twelve ecclesiastics in their sacerdotal costume, and barcheaded. They were at some distance from each other, and accompanied by the high-priest, who was distinguished by a particular dress. Then followed four men, about fifty feet from each other, two on each side of the street, with broad slouched hats, and pieces of white crape attached to them, so as to cover their faces, each holding a lighted torch. A group of singing boys came after; in the centre of whom was one holding a gold case, with an effigy of the Virgin Mary. The body was in a kind of hearse, drawn by six horses, covered with black cloth, and the

postilions and drivers on the box were uncovered. Over the coffin was a rich embroidered mantle, two attendants walked behind, and two on each side. A crowd of domestics and poor women, with white handkerchiefs bound round their heads, closed the mournful *cortège*. It is the practice here to walk to the place of interment, although it should be twenty miles distance from the spot whence the body is carried. We had an opportunity of witnessing the religious ceremonies which take place immediately after a person's decease, a gentleman having died at our hotel almost immediately after we entered it. With some difficulty we obtained permission to gratify our curiosity, and were admitted into the chamber of death, where the body was laid out. The coffin, which was exceedingly splendid, and very broad at top, after the fashion of an antique sarcophagus, rested upon claw feet. It was covered with crimson, embroidered with silver, and at the head was a large ornamented cross. Underneath it a quantity of ice was laid in a vessel. The corpse was not dressed in a shrowd, but in a suit of black; it being the custom to send for a tailor to equip the body as soon as it is dead. The shirt collar was put up erect; a riband bound round the head, with representations of angelic figures on it, and a writing, testifying that the deceased had died in the Christian faith. On the breast was laid a small picture of

our Saviour. Three enormous thick tapers, entwined with black crape, and in silver candlesticks, were placed at the end, and on each side of the head, while a fourth stood at the foot of the coffin. Pedestals were also placed round it, with red velvet cushions and gold fringes, on which were laid the several orders of the deceased. A priest, who stood on the right side of the coffin, was reading from a book, and on a temporary altar was placed a small picture in a frame. At certain intervals he was relieved by another ecclesiastic, and they continued thus occupied for three successive days and nights. On a table was laid a plate of rice with raisins in the centre, arranged in the form of a cross, encircled with large pièces of white sugar, intended, as we were informed, to be given to the attendants at the place of interment. It is also usual for the friends of the deceased to walk round the body and kiss the face; but they had not yet arrived to go through this ceremony. It may be observed, that in this city coffins of all sizes are to be found ready for sale, and piled up in the shops of grocers.

The streets of Moscow are of great length and breadth, and some of them are paved, but in a very unsubstantial manner.* The principal one,

* In 1718, Lady M. Montague, I think, remarked that Paris had the advantage of the English metropolis in point of paving, and also in the mode of lighting the streets at

called Tverskoi, is crooked, and steeper in some parts than Ludgate Hill. About the centre of it are the general's or commander's residence, a military guard-house, and other edifices belonging to government; and near the top it is intersected by a square, where are two churches. The foot-pavement, which is made to slope on one side, is formed of brick, laid flat on edge, and is soon injured and broken, and the centre of the streets are in bad state. The principal part of this street is 52 feet in breadth. There may be 500 cross streets, and the number of lamps in this city amount to 5000, which consume 260,280 lb. weight of oil during eight months.

Moscow no longer exhibits, as formerly, that bizarre contrast which obtained for it the appellation of a *Rome Tartare;* for the buildings are now of a more uniform character, and many of the private houses are on a scale of magnificence that to a Londoner would appear incredible. We may have a few edifices equal in point of beauty, but there is a vastness in the buildings here that strikes the imagination, and produces an impression that partakes of the sublime. There is also something captivating in this display of Grecian and Palladian architecture intermingled

night; but had she lived at the present day, Her Ladyship would have altered her opinion, and declared "they managed these things better in England."

among the old national structures. While, too, the public buildings are distinguished by simplicity and grandeur, private individuals appear anxious to emulate the example set them by the government, each striving, as far as lies in his power, to contribute to the embellishment of the city; and it would not perhaps be amiss if a few of our architects were to pay a visit to the two capitals of Russia, which certainly contain many structures that deserve to be more generally known than at present. The shops are chiefly under ground, and the stairs leading to them project into the street, which is a great nuisance to pedestrians; for if a stranger be not on his guard, he is in danger of breaking his neck. One street, called Pooroforka, which extends a great length, said to be some versts, may be considered the largest of any. All the roofs are of sheet iron, and painted a green or brown colour, which certainly gives the city a cheerful, gay, and light appearance, especially when seen from an elevation. Formerly they were painted black, being nearer the colour of iron. The change arose from a remark of the Emperor, that from their dark hue, the buildings seemed to be in mourning; and this coming to the ear of the inhabitants, they adopted in consequence livelier colours.

We perceived little difference of costume between the lower orders here and at St. Peters-

burg. The men universally have their necks exposed, their shirt-collars being worn *à la Byron;* which is a proof how extremes meet, and that a semi-barbarous Muscovite and an English dandy have a strong sympathy in matters of taste. As to the propriety or impropriety of wearing beards, we, who strip our chins of the ornament nature designed for them, can hardly be allowed to be fair and impartial judges: all that can be said on the subject is, that if nature was wrong in bestowing such appendage on the male visage, we certainly act very right in ridding ourselves of the unsightly excrescence. Yet those who retain it as natural and ornamental, might very well apply to us the words of Hamlet—"Heaven has given you one face, and you make yourselves another."

Similar regulations to those at St. Petersburg prevail here: watchmen are stationed during the day-time at the corners of the streets, with halberts in their hands, and they generally salute every respectably-dressed person who passes by; the military, too, always turn out to salute an officer, in the manner which has been described in the former volume*; and with regard to the images of saints and *boghs*, they are in as much, if not greater request here, than in the modern capital; being stuck up in a con-

* See page 275.

spicuous situation in every shop and house. The homage paid to these paltry idols excites in the mind of every rational person as much contempt as astonishment, not unmingled with painful emotions, on reflecting in what abject superstition so many millions of human beings are sunk. But on this subject it is unnecessary to enlarge again, the absurdity of the custom being so palpable.

At the corner of the Varvaskoi Gate, in front of the Kremlin, are a number of tallow-chandlers' shops; and perhaps of all trades in the Russian dominions, theirs is the most profitable, from the enormous number of lights that are in constant demand by persons of all ranks, from the lowest to the highest, for the purpose of displaying their devotion.* Such shops are generally to be found near every church; and not only the buyers, but the sellers, are impressed with the belief that they are serving the cause of religion, and that "the devil will avoid these places, and tremble for fear." Some of the wax tapers are enormously large, and covered from top to bottom with

* I suspect that the manufacturers and vendors of holy tapers were no great admirers of Luther; for the Reformation made sad havoc with their pious trade. Their ideas of illumination certainly did not accord with his; and they, doubtless, looked upon his heresy with as great horror as that which the growers of oats at present entertain towards steam-carriages.

gilding.* This gate leads to the Kitai-gorod, or Chinese town. In the area to the east of the Kremlin, there is always a prodigious bustle; and a crowd of carriages, waiting for those who came to make purchases at the Gostinoi Dvor, which forms a range of piazzas on each side of a street. Here are extensive galleries, similar to those in a monastery, and leading to warehouses for goods. The whole occupies a considerable space, and is in the form of a quadrangle. In packing bales of goods, it is not the custom to make use of cord or rope, but strips of sheet-iron, about two inches in breadth. In some parts these bazars are roofed with glass, after the mode of those at Constantinople. A stranger is instantly recognised on entering, and absolutely teased by the merchants, who show him great politeness, and take off their hats; yet, notwithstanding their apparent courtesy, they endeavour to shuffle him almost by force into their stalls.

In descanting on the excellence of their goods, and cheapness, be they ever so worthless, or be the price demanded double their real value, they are so eloquent, that, in this respect, they hardly yield the palm to our London

* The name Candlemass is understood to be derived from the number of candles used by the Catholic church in the processions which take place on the 1st of February in honour of the purification of the Virgin Mary.

champagne puffers, and certain other dealers, whose wares, by most extraordinary good luck, are at once the cheapest and finest of their kind. Like the best new novel, all they offer to your notice is superlatively excellent; and every article they lay before you, better than the last. You absolutely feel compassion for these very disinterested people, who are ruining themselves to serve a mere stranger; but pity is at length absorbed in admiration at their apparently boundless stock of epithets—at the warmth of their protestations — at their conscientious piety; for should you seem to doubt the value of what is shown you, they will call upon all the "saints" as witnesses to their integrity. And if they, after all, succeed in imposing upon their customer, they console themselves with the reflection that their profits will enable them to purchase an extra taper for their devotions, to the honour of the true faith, the glory of the church, and their own reputation for piety; and in this respect, it must be granted, they possess a most comfortable advantage, denied to an English shopkeeper, who cannot flatter himself with the idea of being devout, while he knows himself to be a rogue. How an English champagne-brewer hushes his conscience, I pretend not to guess; for he would hardly venture upon so bold a measure as that of lulling it by copious draughts of his own nectar. Whenever these

gentry in the bazars found we were not inclined to make any purchases, they called us back, and would reduce their price from one sum to another, falling in their demands, which became "fine by degrees, and beautifully less." After all, however, it is a thousand to one if they do not, in the interim, shift the article agreed upon, by some legerdemain trick, and substitute another, inferior in quality, thus making themselves full amends for the abatement. Such arts are notorious; and neither their religion nor their devotion prevents them from putting them into practice. Without doing them the least injustice, I may venture to declare, that we never met with more complete and barefaced rogues than in these bazars; and am convinced that every one who has visited these places, will admit the character here given of them, not to be at all overcharged.

People of almost every nation are to be seen here; and, among the rest, crowds of Cossacks, who recalled to my mind the interesting spectacle of their encampment, in the Champs Elysées at Paris, in 1814. Associated, too, with the name of this warlike race is that of Platov. The early life of this valiant soldier, who was born in 1751, was spent in the usual military training; and previous to his twentieth year he enlisted in the service of his country, where he soon attracted attention by his bravery and undaunted courage.

These led to his promotion; and in 1770, which may be held as the dawn of his military glory, we find him holding the rank of captain, and engaged in services of danger, which called forth great intrepidity of character. Up to 1784 he was occupied, from time to time, in various warlike operations under Potemkin, especially in an action with the Turks, after which he was raised to the rank of major-general. He also took a part in the slaughter at Ismail, under Suvarov. In 1791, he was received with high honour by Potemkin at St. Pêtersburg; and ten years afterwards Alexander noticed him for his high gallantry, and called for his services. He now displayed most intrepid resolution in marching towards the middle of Europe at the head of the Cossacks of the Don. On the peace of Tilsit, in 1807, the order of St. Alexander Nevsky was conferred on him; while the King of Prussia loaded him with honours, and esteemed him worthy of his confidence. But it was after the invasion of Russia by the French that he distinguished himself in such a manner as to excite the attention and admiration of all Europe, and to cause him to be received, on his subsequent visit to England, with absolute enthusiasm. Never shall I forget his upright tall person, masculine form, and weather-beaten countenance; but above all have I reason to recollect him from the *impression* he made on me, by an affectionate squeeze of the

hand he gave me on my being introduced to him in London; for the compliment was so hearty and energetic, that I actually thought he had crushed the bones of my fingers in his cordial, but iron grasp. After this Platov returned to his native land to enjoy repose during the piping-time of peace, and relate the battles he had won; and his return was hailed with every demonstration of joy and attachment. A stroke of apoplexy carried off the hero on the 3d of January, 1818. Such is a rapid sketch of the military career of one whose memory will be kept alive in the page of history, as one of the bravest of men, faithful to his sovereign, and devoted to his country. His name will be associated with all that is gallant and heroic as a true and steady soldier; but more especially during the latter period of his life, in those highly momentous affairs, which restored peace to suffering Europe, after so many years of bloodshed and oppression.

CHAP. III.

Ravages of the Plague in the year 1770. — *Insurrection and murder of the bishop.* — *Post-office.* — *New Petrovsksy theatre.* — *Gardens.* — *Donskoi monastery.* — *English church.* — *Burial ground.* — *Markets.* — *Punishment of the knout.* — *Anecdotes, &c.*

THE city of Moscow has been frequently visited by that "pestilence which walketh in darkness;" and terrible as are the devastations of war, they have proved less destructive than those seasons of mortality. So late as 1770 it was visited by the plague, which had been imported by the Russians after defeating the Turks. The ravages were heart-rending in the extreme, and continued for the space of twelve months. With the view of allaying the apprehensions of the public, orders were issued that the disease should be denominated a fever. The military, who entered the habitations of the dead, became incessantly infected by the contagion. After great woe and desolation, the city was almost totally deserted; and horrible indeed was the fate of those who were left behind, and thus inevitably became victims of death. Their corpses might be seen lying in the public streets; and no fewer than 100,000 were swept away by the pestilence during that period.

This destruction, so emphatically described in the language of inspiration, as that "which wasteth at noon-day," was not confined to the city; but extended itself to the neighbouring villages, where 30,000 human beings fell a sacrifice to its violence; till, as the winter approached, the mortality began to abate.

Yet, even during this dreadful visitation, the inhabitants offered up their petition, not to Him who is a spirit, and ought to be looked up to in spirit, and who is all-powerful to save, but to inanimate objects; in other words, to the pictures of the Virgin, and their saints, under the conviction that relief would be more effectually obtained from them than the Almighty. How melancholy is it to reflect upon such abject idolatry, so inconsistent both with reason and revelation; and so opposed to the warning of an inspired writer, who declares, that men shall cast away "their idols, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and the bats."* Some one was mad enough to

* This cannot be mentioned without adverting to an instance that occurred of the superstition of the Sicilians, which I had from a person of rank in Syracuse: — The French fleet having appeared off the place, the inhabitants were thrown into the greatest alarm. What was to be done? — the whole population turned out, and walked in procession to a particular spot, where they invoked the assistance of Sta. Lucia, the tutelary saint of the town, and in consequence she actually saved it, by raising a violent storm, which blew the

to propagate a report that "our Lady's" portrait, in a small chapel at the Varvaskoi Gate, had not due adoration paid it on so urgent an occasion; and that if greater respect were manifested towards it, it might have the effect of quelling the plague. Incredible as the fact may appear, great importance was attached to the intelligence — an uproar was created in the city — crowds flocked to the picture; and, it is gravely said, their supplications most effectually arrested the progress of the disease. With the view of restoring order, and dispersing the people, the bishop caused the picture to be removed to the church of the Kremlin; but this change was construed into a heinous offence, both by the mob, and some ecclesiastics, who had derived a handsome profit from the donations made to this image. The military were called out, but overpowered; and the whole city was filled with tumult and alarm. Diligent search was made for the bishop, who, it was discovered, had taken refuge in the Donskoi Monastery, near the town; but neither the acts of devotion he was exercising at the time, nor the

whole fleet from Sicily! Since these pages were written, the king of Naples has passed a decree (June 27. 1827) which actually imposes a punishment of solitary confinement against those who shall blaspheme the *images of saints* in churches or other places consecrated to divine worship!

sanctity of the place, afforded him any protection from the fury of the rabble. Having seized upon him, they put him to death with savage barbarity; and, as a refinement of their cruelty, exposed his body before the gates of the monastery. This murder was followed by scenes of riot and tumult; and the vengeance of the mob was next directed against medical men. Their houses were ransacked and plundered; a terrible uproar was the consequence; and such violence ensued, that nearly 300 of the rioters were cut down, and an equal number taken prisoners. Such are a few of the dreadful effects of absurd superstition, frenzy, and fanaticism, in a brutal mob. Certain regulations followed, respecting such articles as were liable to communicate infection; and travellers were obliged to perform quarantine at certain places between the city and St. Petersburg. About the commencement of the year 1772, this awful calamity disappeared, after having carried off 134,000 human beings. On this occasion none was more active in providing means to stop these dreadful ravages, than Count Orlov, to whose memory a monument was erected at Tzarskoe Selo, which has been mentioned in a former part of this volume.

The post-office is a plain and simple building. Letters must be paid before they are received

here; a regulation, doubtless, not a little injurious to it.

For its astonishing magnitude, and the grandeur of its architecture, the new Petrovsky theatre yields to no structure of the kind in Europe, or, rather, is superior to every other. The principal façade, which is towards a spacious square, in the centre of which a fountain is about to be erected, has a noble portico, with eight columns of the Ionic order, 56 feet (English) high; their diameters being nearly seven feet. On each side of this portico, which is 112 feet in width, the rest of the front is quite plain and unbroken by any aperture, the only ornament consisting in its horizontal rustics, and the enriched frieze of the entablature; owing to which, the whole possesses a relief and solidity well according with its colossal character. Above the portico is a lofty attic, containing a single aperture or niche, of a semicircular form, about 50 feet in diameter, more than wide enough to receive an ordinary-sized London house; within which is placed a group of four horses, attached to the car of Apollo. It is impossible to contemplate the stupendous proportions of this edifice, and the classical purity of its design, the simplicity of the ensemble, and the richness of the detail, without admiration; nor can we but concede the palm to the Russians, for the dignity and grandeur they display in their pub-

lic structures. Compared with this portico, that of Covent Garden theatre is a mere dwarf; while, in point of taste, it must be admitted to be far inferior. This fine façade is very nearly the same as one designed by Mikhailov, so much so indeed, that the architect seems to have adopted the ideas of his competitor; for the similarity is by far too great to be merely accidental. We were permitted to view the interior, which the workmen were then busily employed in finishing, consequently we beheld it to considerable disadvantage, but saw enough to convince us of its extraordinary magnificence. There are six tiers of boxes, but they have no pillars or visible supports; which, however convenient this may be for the spectators, has yet an unpleasant effect, and an appearance of insecurity, particularly, I should imagine, when the house is full. The ceilings of the boxes are supported by beams, resting in the wall, between them and the corridor, which is of immense thickness. In other respects, the *coup-d'œil* must be enchanting, all the boxes being hung with crimson velvet draperies, with gold fringes, &c. The width of the stage, at the curtain, is 54 feet, and its depth 134.* The height, from

* This splendid theatre was opened for the first time on Jan. 18. 1825, when was delivered an appropriate prologue, written by the celebrated poet Dmitriev; in which Apollo called upon the Russians to eclipse the prowess of their arms by their achievements in the humanizing arts of peace.

the floor of the pit to the ceiling, is 84 feet. Several very splendid saloons communicate with the corridors, and so lofty and spacious, some 112 feet long, and 50 in height, that each would form a tolerable-sized theatre of itself.

There is also an old theatre, which is frequented on Sunday, and is certainly very commodiously situated, it being opposite to a church. This circumstance reminds me of one in France, in a similar situation, where I saw the congregation proceeding directly from the house of God, to the one which has been termed that of Satan.

In the public markets are many houses of wood, of one story, painted yellow and other colours; but very squalid in point of appearance.

Neat towers of wood, with flag-staffs on each side, are erected in different parts of the city, as stations for watchmen to give alarm in case of fire. The house which Murat occupied is a large edifice, with six columns. Here he was literally burned out, at the period of the conflagration.

Over the Moskva is an ancient stone bridge, whence is a charming prospect of the surrounding objects, and of about two thirds of the Kremlin. A neat quay on that side of it, under the Kremlin, is several feet in breadth, and extends to the Foundling Hospital, which is at some

distance. It is to be regretted, however, that on the other side of the river there is not a similar one, the ground being there merely boxed up with logs of wood, to support the earth.

Moscow has several very agreeable public gardens and promenades, among which those called the Pond Gardens are a very favourite resort; and on particular days bands of music play here. They are laid out with considerable taste, and contain several pieces of water, from which they derive their name. Many private residences have also fine gardens attached to them, which their owners allow the public to enter, and even provide swings and other recreations for their amusement; for a Russian piques himself on making a display of his magnificence, and courts the admiration of his neighbours, by admitting them to be spectators of it. The motive may be vanity; but surely candour will allow, that it also looks something like liberality on the part of wealthy proprietors, and is quite as amiable as that spirit of exclusiveness which characterises the upper classes in England. Such a custom, too, proves that, barbarians as we may think them, the Russians are less mischievous than the English. We know very well what would be the consequences here of allowing a garden to be used as a public promenade, unless the walks were so barricadoed on each side,

as to render it impossible for any one to step beyond them; and even in that case, there had need be no seats, otherwise they would certainly exhibit proofs of the ingenuity of the visitors, by being cut and scrawled over with effusions of stupidity and blackguardism. With respect to statues in such places, I am afraid that the observations they would elicit might, on many occasions, prove more piquant than edifying. John Bull is outrageously delicate on some occasions; but, unfortunately, he displays it in a strangely indelicate manner. The infamous remarks of the newspapers, and the scandalous caricatures that appeared, when the bronze figure in Hyde Park was first erected, are a sufficient proof of this. The following anecdote is so complete a satire on this hypocritical squeamishness, that I may be excused for introducing it here:—At the time when the papers were denouncing the unfortunate statue, and all London flocking to the Park to behold what, in the language of gentle cockney facetiousness, was termed the "Green Man," two fair dames, who had been attracted thither by their curiosity, happened to meet, when the following colloquy took place between them:—"So, Mrs. Jenkins, you, too, are come to see this *figger?*"—"Yes; but I find I might just as well have staid at home. Why, I was told that it was quite *undasant*, and not fit to be seen, so I determined to come and look at it; but I am sure they who

call this *undasant*, don't know what *undasancy* means." The motive this lady had so unblushingly avowed was certainly not "quite correct;" but her comment was admirable.

Linden trees are very numerous at Moscow; and the bark is made into baskets and boxes. The inner bark affords materials for mats, and the rind of the young shoots is used for platting shoes.

We proceeded to the Donskoi monastery, or that of the Virgin of the Don, in the vicinity of the barrier of Kaluga. This convent, which was founded by the family of Donskoi, in commemoration of Moscow being delivered from an invasion of the Tatars, is situated on a plain, and has a somewhat romantic appearance. There were at this time about thirty nuns residing here, who wore black gowns and caps, with small white cords round their waists. Many of them, we observed, were occupied in working lace. When we visited the chapel, great preparations were making for a *fête;* and the sisters, with their petticoats "kilted," exhibited rather a novel sight, scrubbing the altar with as much care and anxiety as a cook scouring her kitchen-dresser. In the principal church, which is very fine, we saw a priest, who had just finished the service, beset by a crowd, pressing his hand to their bosoms, and slubbering it with kisses, as if it could communicate any particular

virtue to them. It will be recollected that this was the spot where, as has been related, the bishop was massacred. The adjoining burial-ground contains a number of tombs, in a great variety of forms; and considerable sums are bequeathed to the monastery, and nuns, to watch over them. On their return from the capital, the French troops passed close to this monastery, the walls of which were perforated for the introduction of musketry for its defence. A telegraph was also erected here, and another on the Sparrow hills, so as to communicate with that in the Kremlin. On those elevations, which are a few miles distant in this direction, prodigious excavations have been made, for the foundation of a church of almost incredible magnitude, as it is intended to be erected on a considerably larger scale than that of St. Peter's at Rome. It is to be dedicated to our Saviour, and is intended to record the deliverance of the empire from the French. Some idea may be formed of it when it is stated, that its intended height, from the foot of the hill to the summit of the cross, is 770 feet; or, from the top of the hill, where the upper temple will commence, 560 feet. The great dome, whose diameter is intended to be 175 feet, will be 156 feet higher than St. Paul's, London. In front will be a colonnade, extending 2100 feet; and on each side will be erected a monu-

ment. One of these will be formed out of the cannon taken from the enemy before he passed the frontiers: the other, of the ordnance brought from Paris. The foundation was laid with extraordinary pomp and solemnity, on the 12th of October, 1817, in the presence of 100,000 troops, under arms, 300 priests, and an incalculable number of spectators.

The sum required to rear this edifice is so immense, that it may be doubted whether it will ever be finished. The period originally fixed for the completion of this mighty undertaking was only 30 years; but when we saw it, every thing appeared to be at a stand, from the want of funds, to carry it on. Although the views of Moscow, from the tower of the Kremlin, are extensive, yet the prospect of it, from a distance, infinitely surpasses all others.

It may now be proper to allude to the church at Moscow set apart for divine service after the English form, which became indispensably requisite, in consequence of the number of British who have taken up their residence there. This building, which is situated in the environs, is on a small scale, with wings, and a dwelling-house for the clergyman attached to it. British, German, and French Protestants attend here. During our stay it had been shut up, in consequence of a misunderstanding having taken place between

the members, which it is unnecessary to go into, except mentioning the exertions made by Earl Cathcart to provide a permanent English church. While His Lordship was ambassador in 1817 and 1818, his chaplain used to officiate every Sabbath in his house, where the English assembled, and the congregation was as numerous as the place could contain. The former church is now in the possession of government, who have let the premises. In order to heal all division, and preserve unity, Mr. Law, chaplain at St. Petersburg, proceeded here in July, 1825, called a meeting of the English, and was happily instrumental in reconciling all opinions; when it was resolved to open a new place of worship. A convenient house, the property of a nobleman in Tverskoi Street, near the hotel of the governor, was accordingly selected for the purpose, and has been neatly fitted up as a chapel, capable of containing 200 persons. This was opened in November, 1825, when 100 persons attended divine service, that is, one fourth of the English residents. In order that it might not be interfered with by the college of justice (to which all churches of every other communion are subject in this country), an application was made to the Emperor, through the British minister, to grant his sanction for the establishment of an English church; and the suggestion was complied with.

This was among the last acts of Alexander shortly before his death.*

In support of this establishment the Anglo-Russian company very liberally made a grant of

* This important document is couched in the following terms:—

" *St. Petersbourg, ce 7. Sept.* 1825.

" Monsieur: — Le soussigné s'est empressé de rendre compte à l'Empereur de la note que le ministre plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser, en date Août 22., Sept. 3., et il a la satisfaction de l'informer, que sa Majesté Impériale a daigné condescendre aux vœux qui lui ont été exprimés, au nom des sujets Britanniques résidens à Moscou; Sa Majesté a nommément consenti à ce, qu'il fut établi dans la dite capitale une église pour la célébration du culte divin, d'après le rit Anglican, avec les mêmes privileges et sur le même pied que les autres églises de cette nation dans l'empire de Russie. Les ordres nécessaires vont être expédiés aux autorités compétentes, pour mettre en exécution les hautes intentions de Sa Majesté. Toute fois en donnant ainsi aux sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique, établis en Russie, une nouvelle preuve de l'intérêt bienveillant qu'ils lui ont toujours inspiré, Sa Majesté Impériale se plait à croire que le ministre auquel devra être confiée la direction spirituelle de la paroisse Anglaise à Moscow, sera choisi de préférence parmi les théologiens qui adherent franchement aux dogmes de l'église dominante en Angleterre, et qui sont exempts de tout esprit de parti et de secte religieuse.

" Le soussigné est expressement chargé de faire connâitre ce vœu de l'Empereur, qui est suggéré à Sa Majesté Impériale par sa constante sollicitude pour que les adhérens des confessions étrangères tolérées en Russia, jouissent dans une concorde parfaite entr'eux, de cette entière liberté de conscience que les lois de l'empire leur assurent à tous également.

Le soussigné profite, etc.

NESSELRODE."

100*l.* a-year, and 200*l.* to fit up the building. Some of the English residents subscribe to this church; but of the 400 that constitute the British population here, few are in a situation to contribute to it. The expence is estimated at 4750 rubles, the rent is 1500; clergyman's salary, 2000; clerk's, 500; and servants, fire, &c. 750 more. It should be mentioned to the honour of the British at St. Petersburg, that they presented communion plate to the amount of 100*l.*; in short, under this new arrangement, every thing has exceeded the most sanguine expectations; and the gratitude of his countrymen is due to Mr. Law for the indefatigable exertions he has made in respect to this church. So sensible, indeed, were the members of his services, that they presented to him a piece of plate, with an appropriate inscription. The Rev. Mr. Burlton has been appointed pastor, and the Russian company reserve to themselves the presentation of any future chaplain. Since the establishment of a church in this remote corner of the world is of such importance to our countrymen, and cannot fail to meet the approbation of those who live in a land of Gospel light, and are anxious that their brethren abroad should enjoy similar spiritual benefits, it has been suggested that a sum should be raised for purchasing ground to found a permanent temple to the worship of

the Almighty, as, in fact, is the most anxious wish of the British residents, who are now mere tenants of the present place of meeting. Their own resources are quite inadequate to this, therefore they naturally look to assistance from their countrymen at home. In a speculative point of view there is considerable inducement, as property is cheap in Moscow; and we were informed, on the very best authority, that for 3000*l.* most commodious buildings, with land adjoining, might be purchased, and converted into a substantial and permanent church. Those, therefore, who are disposed to assist in the pious work, and advance this sum, might regularly receive four per cent. by a bond and mortgage on the security of the whole establishment. Nor could a part of the money voted by Parliament for the building of churches be more judiciously or profitably applied than to the erection of one in this quarter, for British subjects; and I would advise the commissioners to direct their attention to what is so materially connected with the religious interests of Great Britain.

The burial-ground for strangers, where the English are always interred, is situated in the environs. It is a spacious spot, planted with fir and beech trees, and there are several monuments, and tombs in the form of sarcophagi, over the graves. The inscriptions are in the usual style of church-yard poetry, — not quite so

admirable as the virtues they profess to record. One, for instance, which commemorates a young lady,—

> "From this dark scene removed to *shine*
> Where purest *shades* of mortals dwell,"—

is worth the attention of Miss Edgeworth, for her next edition of "Irish Bulls." But the reader may, perhaps, not be displeased at my transcribing the epitaph of one of our more celebrated countrymen:

"Here layeth interred the body of Commodore Joseph Billings, Knight, of the third class of the order of St. Volodomer, born in London, Sept. 5. 1763. He was employed in the last expedition with the renowned Captain Cook, by the late Empress, Catherine the Second, to make discoveries in the north part of Siberia and Kamschatka, as far as the Icy Sea. After having served the Emperor of Russia twenty years, he married, Feb. 6. 1803, Catherine, daughter of General Boris Volodimerovich Von Pestel, and died March 20. 1806, in the forty-third year of his age."

It is the custom in this country to pay an annual visit to the burying-grounds; but on these pious visits to deceased friends, the living take especial care to provide themselves with abundance of good cheer, that they may regale themselves very affectionately on the graves and tombs of those who are now a banquet for the worms. This, it must be acknowledged, is a very strange kind of sentimentality; for the whole concern has very much the appearance of a

jovial merry-making, and the hearty appetites these good people display on such occasions are truly edifying. No wonder that the Russians are devout, when devotion itself is rendered so very agreeable!

The markets in Moscow, of which there are a considerable number, present an extraordinary sight, since almost every article that can be imagined for either use or amusement is offered for sale. Those for butcher's meat and poultry chiefly attract attention.* The number of fowls

* With respect to prices, beef is 16, veal 15, mutton 12, and potatoes 63 copecs per pound; cabbages are sold at 4 rubles per 100; a lettuce is 10 copecs; black bread is 3, and white 20 copecs per lb.; tea from 8 to 75 rubles per lb. (40 lbs. in Russia is equal to 36 in England.) The tea most esteemed is perfumed with the flowers of a Chinese plant, and named "flower-tea," and is of the best quality. Sponge is sold at 3 copecs per lb. In some parts of the empire the prices of articles are extraordinarily low. For instance: in the government of Voronetz, in the Ukraine, during a fair, ten ewes and eight lambs were sold for 35 rubles, which are equal to 1*l.* 8*s.* sterling; and in another district under the same government the price of wool was less than 1*s.* 6*d.* for 36 lbs. Further, a quarter of rye, equal to eight bushels, 3*s.* 6*d.*; a quarter of wheat 12*s.*, and a quarter of oats 1*s.* In Siberia, thirty bullocks might be purchased for 18*l.*; the price of bread is 1½*d.* for 4 lb.; and corn brandy is, to use a vulgar, yet forcible expression, "as cheap as dirt." As to the wages of servants, a coachman receives yearly 15, a man-servant 25, and maid-servants 10 and 12 rubles per month.

is almost incredible; and the operations of cuting off heads, plucking, cleaning, and preparing the whole feathered tribe, were going on with the utmost rapidity in all directions. So tender are the consciences of the Moscovites, that they will not eat pigeons, because they consider these birds the emblem of the Holy Ghost; yet they do not, on the other hand, scruple to pluck geese alive; and we actually witnessed some barbarians thus employed in the open market,—a very convincing proof, were one required, that superstition tends as little to make men humane, as it does to render them *moral*. With all this diabolical cruelty, they seem to pique themselves on being extremely devout; for an effigy of one of the persons of the Trinity is to be seen, with a lamp burning before it, at every stall, in the midst of all this slaughter and butchery. Nothing, in reality, can be more abominably indecent, or, rather, impious; and one would almost imagine it was devised for the very purpose of bringing into contempt the religion they profess. As to the veneration they pretend to entertain for pigeons, they should, in order to preserve consistency, extend it to lamb, and abstain altogether from eating the flesh of that animal; because it is one of those emblems under which Christ is typified.

One place of traffic, where old clothes are the

staple commodity, is particularly resorted to on Sundays, when this Rag-fair may be seen thronged with buyers and sellers, settling their bargains with more bustle and noise than decorum. The market where cattle are sold is contiguous to the city, and this is also the spot where the sanguinary punishment of the knout is inflicted. Here we observed the scaffold, on which the miserable criminals are tied up, which is a sloping piece of wood, about six feet in height. On the top there is a hollow for the head of the culprit to rest in: it is also scooped on each side for the hands; and there are rings to which both head and hands are fastened. The knout is nearly six feet in length, and every blow takes off the skin. In cases of murder, besides undergoing this punishment, the culprit has part of his nostrils cut out, and is branded with a red hot iron, and sent off to Siberia. Formerly, with the view of extorting confessions, it was the practice to tie a rope round the culprit, and tow him up and down quickly, within a few inches of the ground. This might, with propriety, be termed a refinement of cruelty, and had the effect of dislocating the shoulders. A number of anecdotes were related to us at this place, respecting persons who had undergone this dreadful punishment, the horrid shrieks and

groans of some, and the astonishing fortitude exemplified by others, almost exceeding belief.* Many have actually been known to call upon the executioner to put them out of existence. One anecdote is related of a murderer, who, being offered some milk by his wife, refused it, as it was a day set apart for fasting! Another is told of a lady, who, having seen her servant more than once in an attitude of prayer, and bowing before a church, suspected, from this excessive show of devotion, so contrary to his former demeanour, that he had been guilty of some crime, when it turned out he robbed the house. In truth, the lower orders here appear to consider that bowing to images, and making the sign of the cross, are adequate substitutes for all morality, and the positive fulfilment of every religious duty, to the utter perversion of all reason, and the confounding

* The hardihood and physical insensibility of the Russian almost exceeds credibility. It is related that a malefactor, who had been stretched five days on the wheel, on any thing being given him to drink, expressed a wish that before his death he might have a convivial meeting with his comrades. Others who have been hung by the ribs on iron hooks, lived above three days, and only expressed a desire to have their thirst quenched. One of them, who had lived in this situation a day and a half, being told by some one of his vicious courses, exclaimed, "Fellow, if I had now the power to extricate myself from this situation, my vengeance should be exercised upon you; and I only regret that you did not perish by my hands!"

every distinction between the principles of right and wrong. We may surely, therefore, without any breach of charity, observe, that there must be "something rotten in the state of Denmark," and grossly erroneous in the church which connives at, if it does not expressly encourage, a moral laxity, not only contrary to the fundamental laws of Revelation itself, but in direct opposition both to conscience and to reason.

The ground, within the barriers of Moscow, amounts to 16,120,800 square fathoms (seven feet to the fathom). A valuation of the city was lately made, and found to amount to 169,231,290 rubles, on which the taxes raised amount to one half per cent. About one third of the whole population may be considered as nobility; and most of the foreigners are Germans. During winter, it is supposed the number of residents exceeds those at every other period by 40,000.* There are several of our countrymen

* The following calculations may be interesting:—

Births.—Males, 1821; females, 1616. Total, 3437.

Deaths.—Males grown, 960; females, 828. Total, 1797. Male children, 1403; females, 1263. Total, 2666.

Died suddenly.—From old age, 19; apoplexy, 88; drunkenness, 20.

Died from accident.—Killed, 7; drowned, 32.

Murdered.—Killed, 5; throats cut, 2; strangled, 5:—suicides:—shot themselves, 2; poisoned, 1; cut throat, 1; hanged themselves, 8.

From a series of computations on the comparative product

here, who are chiefly engaged in mercantile pursuits. During the invasion of the French, who took possession of their houses, such was their hatred of every thing that had the stamp of coming from England, that on the proprietors returning, after the decampment of the enemy, they found that English books had been stabbed through with bayonets, and others torn to pieces.

It may be added, that the greatest degree of cold, at Moscow, is 35° of Reaumur below freezing.

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of births in proportion to marriages in Europe, a member of the French Institute lays it down, that while the south of France or Portugal average 5.3 children to each marriage, the north of France or south of England will not exceed 4.4; *and the farther north the proportion of children diminishes.*

CHAP. IV.

Medical Men. — Libertinism. — Merchants. — Jews. — Smoking. — Anecdotes. — Restaurateurs. — Prisons. — Princes. — Number of the military. — Superstition.

At Moscow no natives act in the capacity of apothecaries; this being a profession entirely confined to Germans. In order to prevent medicines being made up improperly, and mistakes on the part of the ignorant and careless, of which many fatal instances occur from time to time in England, particularly in giving oxalic acid for Epsom salts*, as soon as it is known that any medicine has been made up wrong, the shop where it was prepared is shut up by the police. Every prescription received by an apothecary is retained by him, and regularly entered in a book; and, for greater security, a ticket is also given, with the medicine, ad-

* Perhaps the most perfect security against all danger might be obtained by the entire exclusion of this article from shops; or that it might not deceive the eye by its resemblance to salts, the acid should be kept in a state of solution; at all events, the word "poison" might be printed, instead of being written, on the article. It is a singular fact, that no accidents from oxalic acid occur on the Continent.

dressed to the person for whom it is intended, explaining the nature of it, the name of the physician, and also the precise time when it was sent to the invalid.* This is certainly a very prudent and rational regulation; and there can be no reason why similar measures of precaution should not be adopted in our own country, or, indeed, enforced by a legislative enactment, as it would have the effect of preventing both imposition and accidents. Something worthy of imitation may always be found, even among those nations who are least of all to be copied generally, and, in other respects, any thing but models of conduct. Even the Turks are to be commended for their humanity to animals, and might in this respect cause many who term themselves Christians to blush for their neglect of a virtue practised by infidels.

Although there are said to be fewer of a certain class of females here than in any city of similar extent, yet they are very numerous; and there are what are called "receiving houses" to be found here. These miserable women never annoy passengers by their advances, but in the

* The ordinary fee to a physician is ten rubles, or 8*s.* 4*d.* sterling. There is only one English physician in this large capital. Great privacy is observed in dissecting dead bodies, which are generally obtained from hospitals, or are those of slaves. So great, indeed, is the caution on this point, that an artist who applied for a skull, as a study, could not procure one.

streets affect a high degree of modesty; yet they so overact their assumed character, as to be soon recognised. Yet although public decency* is, perhaps, less offended here, in the above respect, than in most populous and wealthy capitals, the people of Moscow are rather *en mauvais odeur* among us, as regards morals, since the noise made in an English publication respecting a certain scandalous and infamous association for dissolute persons of the higher classes. Abominable as the affair was in itself, it should, however, be borne in mind, that it was, at least, conducted with such secrecy that even its existence has been questioned, and the whole imagined to be a mere fabrication. The mystery, therefore, in which this society was enveloped, — the caution adopted lest any thing respecting it should transpire, — show that, at least, public opinion was respected, and that the members were aware of the infamy that would attach to them should their excesses be divulged. Had such dissoluteness been general, concealment would have been unnecessary; but instead of this, their orgies were celebrated with the greatest possible secrecy, so that the infection

* In many things the Russians appear to be far behind us; for instance, they do not yet make masquerade assignations in the newspapers, which will here not scruple to act the convenient part of a go-between for the paltry *douceur* of seven shillings. We, in reality, carry the shop-keeping system even into intriguing.

could not spread beyond the spot where this moral pestilence raged. Happy would it be if vice were always so *discreet;* but there are countries where it shows its face unblushingly, where it is permitted to lay its snares with impunity, and actually seems to be countenanced by the parental solicitude of government. Nay, even in the capital of His Most Christian Majesty, some exceedingly satanical acts are tolerated: gambling-houses* are licensed; prostitution is licensed; and although marriage is considered a sacrament, adultery seems to be licensed too, and all but sanctioned by law.

The merchants are divided into classes: those of the first class are entitled to wear swords, to

* As to these hot-beds of vice, we, however, seem now to have attained that bad pre-eminence which almost defies competition. There is some chance that, ere long, they will obtain for the English capital the epithet of "hellish." Nothing is now wanting to render these establishments complete, but an apartment in each to be called the "finish," where the plundered might find loaded pistols and arsenic, and make their choice accordingly. It will be said the law has provided a remedy against these nuisances, and the parties are *liable* to be sent to the tread-mill; but when are they ever sent thither? As far as either law or justice is concerned, they pursue their iniquitous traffic with perfect impunity. England may be compared to an oak that has stood the buffeting of many a storm: its leaves have often been scattered by the blast, and branches scathed by the lightning: these affected not its vigour; but now the worm is preying on its core — let me not finish the alarming simile.

appear at court, and carry on trade wherever they choose. The second may carry on business, but are not entitled to the other privileges; and the third cannot trade with foreigners in distant countries, excepting through the medium of the first class.*

Foreigners, who are not included in the guilds,

* The taxes imposed on each class are as follows: —

	Rubles.	Copecs.
The first pay annually -	3,478	50
The second - - -	1,445	0
The third - - -	478	0
Burghers - - -	9	50

Every merchant is obliged to provide annually a set of books, with the impression of the government stamp, whether any entries are made in them or not, viz.

	Rubles per sheet.	Rubles.
First guild-merchant, a journal of 150 sheets, at -	2	300
Cash-book of 100 sheets, at -	2	200
Ledger of 50 sheets, at -	2	100
Second do. journal of 150 sheets, at	1	150
Cash-book of 100 sheets, at -	1	100
Ledger of 50 sheets, at -	1	50
Third do. receipt book - -	20 copecs	10
Expenditure book - -	20	10

The first-rate merchants pay annually for their passports 200 rubles.

	Rubles.
First guild-merchant - - -	100
Second do. - - - -	50
Third do. - - - -	25

These items are included in the first sums above specified.

but have immovable property in town, pay yearly 200 rubles, besides one half per cent. on its value, as municipal dues. The capitation tax throughout the empire is three rubles and a half. Previously to the invasion of Bonaparte, the sign-boards were generally in the French language; but they are now ordered to be in Russian, and those who wish to have them in foreign languages are obliged to pay a certain duty. No duties are imposed on any article from England brought into the city, these being settled at the ports where they arrive.* Licences are taken out for sporting, and cost ten rubles yearly; yet, what is rather singular, should a person accompany another who is licensed, although merely to witness the sport, he must pay fifteen rubles for his curiosity.

* I subjoin a comparative view of the population of Moscow, which has not hitherto appeared.

	In the year 1812.	In the year 1822.
Nobility - -	14,247	14,724
Government servants -	1,898	3,101
Clergy, church servants, monks, &c. - -	4,804	3,388
Merchants - -	20,277	9,392
Citizens or burghers -	18,853	28,029
Handicraftsmen - -	6,192	10,384
Foreigners - -	2,862	2,385
Rasnochinetzs - -	10,135	10,069
Soldiers - -	16,395	21,893
Fabricants - -	4,635	1,854
Carry over,	100,298	105,219

The Jews do not enjoy the same privileges here as in London, Copenhagen, Dantzic, or other parts. In fact, they are not permitted to remain in the city beyond twenty-four hours, and instances are not wanting of bribing the police to extend the period of their sojourn.

Great quantities of bread are hawked about streets, made up in the form of rings. Some hundred pieces of these are strung round the neck and body of the vender, so that he looks as if he was hung in chains. On the meanest stalls there is exposed the whitest bread I ever beheld.

The practice of smoking is very common here, although, towards the end of last century, this indulgence was pronounced sinful. A monopoly of the importation of tobacco was granted to a private company in 1698. It was also conferred on an individual in 1762, but afterwards abolished.

In the preceding volume*, I have spoken of the flagrant abuses in the administration of jus-

	1812.	1822.
Brought over,	100,298	105,219
Carriers - -	1,651	1,882
Slaves, or house servants	84,880	53,511
Peasants and slaves -	70,299	72,758
	257,131	233,400

It appears, then, there were 22,731 less this year (1825) than in 1829.

* Chapter XIV.

tice, which, of course, is not at all purer here; I will, therefore, only give an additional anecdote, as illustrative of the bare-faced corruption that prevails in this respect. A poor man, who had an estate of between 40,000 and 50,000 rubles, which fell to him at the death of a relation, was obliged to proceed to St. Petersburg, on account of a law-suit relating to this property. Month passed after month, and year after year, till wearied out by the delays of Justice, whom he discovered to be not only blind, but snail-paced, he determined to abandon his cause at once. On this he was informed by the person at the head of that department, that a thousand rubles might settle the matter in the course of two or three days. This intelligence was almost as vexatious as the previous procrastination; for how was the claimant, whose finances were now utterly exhausted, to raise such a sum? Desperation, however, will sometimes hit upon expedients that would startle prudence: he resolved to wave all ceremony, and apply to the Emperor (Nicholas) at once for the loan of the money. The singularity of the request was such that His Majesty ordered the man to be sent for, and inquired what could possibly induce him to mistake his sovereign for a money-lender, or make so extraordinary an application; upon which the person briefly stated his case. Aware of the great corruption that existed in all public departments, and anxious to

ascertain if such was the fact, or whether it was merely a stratagem on the part of the applicant, the Emperor gave him the money, having first taken the number of the notes, and ordered him to acquaint him with the result. The man shortly after returned, and informed him that the minister had engaged to settle the whole business forthwith. On this the Emperor sent for him, and asked whether he had received any money that morning. Startled by so abrupt and unexpected a question, and suspecting that the transaction had reached the imperial ear, he deemed it to be most prudent to confess that he had; and on the notes being produced, they were found to be those given to the petitioner. The Emperor then told the dispenser of justice, that he was perfectly aware that the salaries of persons in public offices were inadequate to their support, and that it was one of the grievances he intended to correct as speedily as circumstances would permit; but that he could not overlook so flagrant a violation of justice, and he must prepare to pay a visit to Siberia. On this it may be remarked, in the language of inspiration, "Are ye not partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?" * The venality, in short, of these courts of justice, as they are rather ironically called, is paralleled only by those in the East, where an individual observed

* James, ii. 4.

to another, how extremely difficult it was to show justice when one of the parties was wealthy and the other poor; to which it was answered, that it was only when both parties were rich there could be any doubts on which side the scale of justice ought to preponderate.

There are several restaurateurs, who have establishments similar to those in Paris; and at one house the *gourmand* will meet with dinners served up in the true Russian style, and unrivalled for the excellence of soup and fish. The waiters are odd figures, for they wear red shirts, with frocks thrown over them, which are open at the neck, and enormous wide boots like those of Dutch fishermen, who have their hair cropped so short behind, as to leave the neck quite bare.

In the Kitai-Gorod there is an ancient gateway, with figures of a lion and unicorn, leading to the printing-office of the synod. This is said to have been formerly the entrance to the hotel of a British ambassador; and that hearing of the execution of Charles I., the Tzar was so indignant he ordered it to be converted to its present purpose. Whether, however, this be a mere idle legend or not, it is singular we should find supporters of the British arms surmounting a gateway at Moscow.*

* During the reign of Henry VII. it appears that the dragon and greyhound were supporters of the arms of England.

The prisons are contiguous to the courts of law, and under strong guards. A distinction is made between debtors and criminals; but there is a very improper practice of allowing two men to sleep in one bed. Howard, the philanthropist, who visited this place in September, 1780, remarked, it was characteristic of a government like Russia, that there should be no regular jailors, but that the prisoners should be guarded by soldiers.

The title of Kniaz, or prince, is exceedingly common in Russia, and may be considered as equivalent to that of duke, for which there exists here no exactly corresponding term. But although such an appellation conveys to an Englishman an idea of great opulence and dignity, many of those who bear it are extremely poor; indeed we heard of one, who was actually an usher in a public school. Happening to enter into conversation with an opulent nobleman at a public dinner, he put to me such a variety of questions, that I was apprehensive he was trying to draw information from me that he might communicate it to government, especially when he alluded to English publications on the subject of Russia. In consequence of this, apprehensive of being entrapped, and having a salutary fear of Siberia, my language became very cautious and measured. I soon, however, discovered that his sentiments were exceedingly

free, and he was, in fact, a true liberal; on which account he had been deprived of a situation he held in Poland. In the course of conversation he made one observation, tolerably bold, and plainly showing the opinion he entertained both of his own countrymen and Englishmen; namely, that "it was only through the medium of the writings of British travellers, who could speak their sentiments unreservedly, that Russians could obtain a knowledge of their own land, and what was going on in it; and that English works on this subject were most eagerly sought after, but can only be imported clandestinely." Prudence demands that the name of this liberal and enlightened individual should not be divulged, otherwise he might be instantly added to the numerous inhabitants of Siberia. Should, however, these volumes ever fall into his hands, he may recognise this sketch of himself; perhaps, too, he will find in them several circumstances to which he had been a stranger, confirmatory of the observation he made respecting information being disseminated by strangers, which the natives dare not promulgate.

We found it impossible to ascertain the number of military here, and equally so to learn the entire amount of the Russian forces, although it is calculated that the troops may amount to the enormous number of one million and upwards.

It must be considered as unfortunate that the imperial family do not make this city, as well as St. Petersburg, their residence for some part of the year, after the manner of the King of the Netherlands, who lives at the Hague and Brüssels alternately. This is greatly lamented here by all ranks. It could not fail to add to the importance of this capital, while it would be attended with much benefit to the empire generally, and attach the Moscovites more to their sovereign; at the same time it would cause greater attention to be paid to the interior provinces. During the winter months, too, this place is most decidedly preferable, in many points of view, to the new capital. Peter's motive for removing the seat of government to a corner of the empire, evidently arose from the apprehensions he entertained of the Swedes, and his anxiety to keep that power in check.

From the closest observations we could make, the inhabitants are evidently more liberal in their sentiments, under fewer restrictions, and speak on political subjects with greater freedom than those of St. Petersburg; and this fact alone would have induced us to give the preference to Moscow as a residence; nor do I apprehend that we are singular in our opinion. A great anxiety prevails among the upper orders to receive English young ladies into their houses gratis, in order that their

children may acquire the English language. In morals, however, there is not much choice between either cities.

The Moscovites, at least the great mass of them, are superstitious to an excess bordering in reality on downright absurdity. We need not, therefore, ask whether they are moral, or express our surprise at finding them not so; for since superstition is a mere religion of forms, the body without the vital spark, how, it may be asked, can it possibly be otherwise than putrid and corrupt?

CHAP. V.

Conflagration of Moscow. — Evidence relative to the perpetrators of that catastrophe. — Napoleon's flight. — Destruction of the English church. — Russia's views of aggrandizement. — Political reflections.

If we except the conflagration of Rome by the imperial monster, Nero, we can find nothing in all history to parallel that which devastated Moscow, and converted nearly the whole city into a mass of ruins. As this is a subject that has attracted the attention of the world at large, and has already been fully discussed by various writers, it will not be necessary to repeat their details. I shall, therefore, confine my remarks within an extremely narrow compass, contenting myself with adverting to some facts which do not appear to have before met the public eye.

Neither Russians nor Frenchmen are willing to admit that the work of destruction commenced with them, each nation attributing it to the other; although, according to some reports, both participated in it, it being affirmed, that it was begun by the former, and completed by the latter; yet, why the Russians should be so anxious to make it appear that it was not the act of their own countrymen, it is not easy to per-

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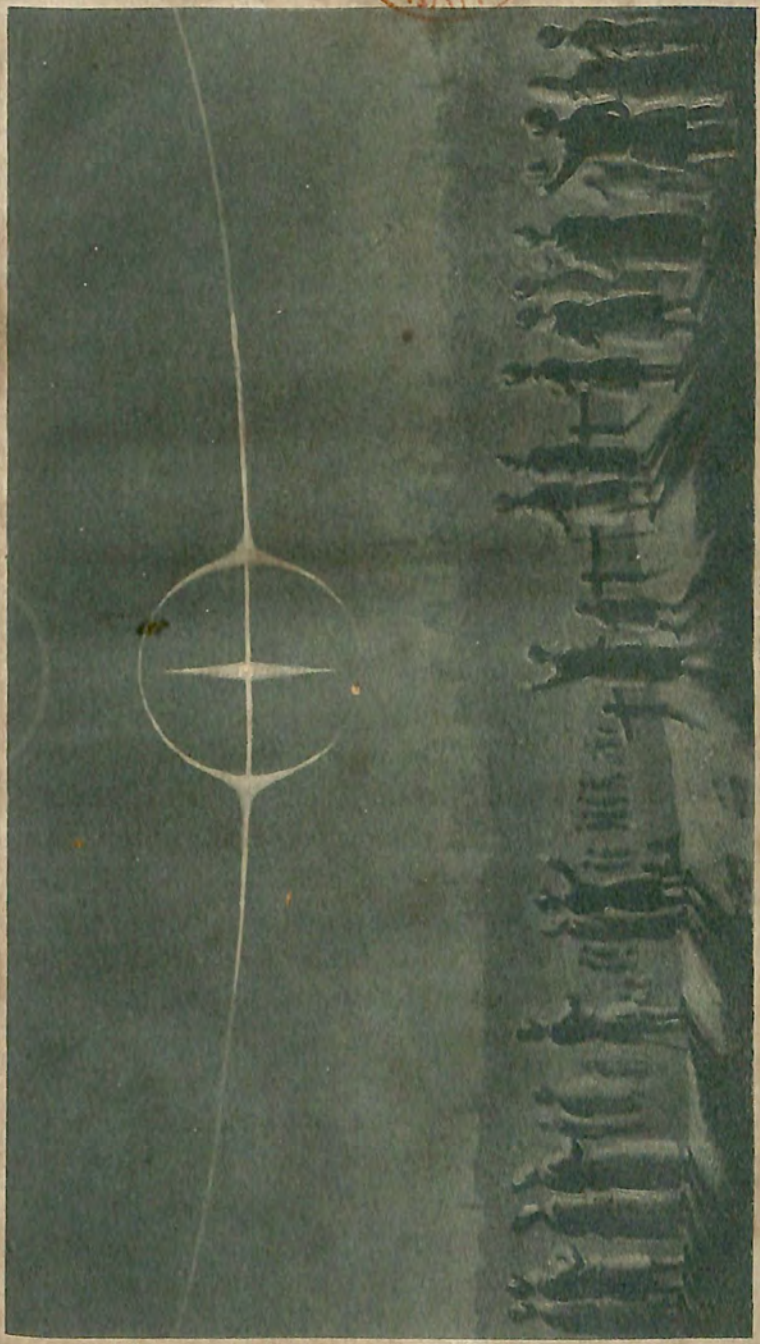

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Parhelion seen at Macao

ceive; for, surely, the voluntary sacrifice of their ancient capital, rather than behold it pillaged by a ruthless invader, was, to the full, as great an act of patriotism and self-devotion as most of those by which the bravest nations have sought to signalize themselves. Whatever may be their motives for rejecting this imputed proof of their public spirit, there are very substantial grounds for believing that Kutusov had determined upon this desperate extremity, as the only means of foiling the views of Napoleon, and arresting his progress; and that Rostopchin was the ostensible actor in this catastrophe. Combustible materials were collected, and concealed in different parts of the city; and some hundred natives were employed in preparing the horrid work of destruction. The devouring element was quickly fanned by a high wind; and the different colours imparted to the flames by the combustibles employed, added to the terrific grandeur of the awful spectacle.* Terrible as

* A most extraordinary phenomenon, which is represented in the prefixed engraving, occurred at Moscow a few days previous to this destructive fire. A friend who has resided several years in Russia, and on whose veracity I can confidently rely, assures me that he has frequently witnessed curious aërial phenomena and meteoric appearances. Once, in particular, when the night was quite dark, a broad streak of light edged the horizon, and vertical to this, but separated from it by a ridge of dark clouds, were several columns of lambent light, which kept gradually shifting their situations.

this deed was, yet, as it was dictated by necessity, it ought to be viewed as at least politic and judicious, since it had the effect of destroying the hopes entertained by the French army, after a long and fatiguing march, when they had calculated on finding comfortable winter-quarters in the city. Looking on it thus, it is impossible to conceive how a single doubt should exist as to who were the authors, or to imagine that the French would destroy a city which was so well calculated to afford them shelter during a rigorous season in such a climate. But, without arguing upon mere probabilities, it is presumed that the following original documents, left in a house which one of their principal generals had taken possession of, and which fell into my hands on the spot, will suffice to set the long-agitated question completely at rest.* These consist of

* When I was in this capital Rostopchin was highly unpopular, nay, execrated, on account of one act, in particular, which was most strongly commented on, and which will never be blotted out from the present generation, from the very deep impression it had made on the Moscovites. One youth, a native of the place, was apprehended on a charge of having translated into the Russian language a hand bill of Napoleon's, in allusion to a victory in an action with Kutusov, where a time was fixed for the emperor's entering Moscow. Rostopchin, on liberating some prisoners, contrived to assemble a mob about his house, when the poor lad was led out before him, charged as a traitor, and the people being incited to the highest pitch by Rostopchin, he called on them to inflict summary punishment, and the youth

the trial, by a military commission in the name of Napoleon, of some Russians, who had been charged as incendiaries by the French.

" *Au Nom de l'Empereur et Roi.*

" Aujourd'hui vingt-quatre Septembre mille huit cent-douze, La Commission Militaire créée à Moscou, en suite des ordres de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, composée de MM.

" Le Général Comte Lauer, Grand Prévôt de l'Armée;

" Le Général Baron Michel, Commandant le 1^er^ Régiment des Grenadiers à pied de la Garde;

" Le Général Baron Saunier, Grand Prévôt du 1^er^ Corps de l'Armée;

" Le Colonel Baron Bodilen, Commandant des Grenadiers de la Garde;

" L'Adjutant Commandant Chev^r^. Thery, Commandant du Quartier Impérial;

" Le Chef d'Escadron, Jeanier, de la Gendarmerie d'élite;

" Monsieur le Général Comte Monthion, faisant fonction de Procureur Impérial;

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was torn in pieces, an act most barbarous in itself, and disgraceful to Rostopchin. The French, it should be observed, entered at the very time set forth in that proclamation.

85918

" Monsieur Weber, Chef d'Escadron, celle de Rapporteur ;

" Tous nommés par S. A. le Prince de Neuchâtel, Major Général de la Grand Armée, assistés du S^r. Jauve de Guibert, sous-officier de Gendarmerie, Greffier, nommé par le Rapporteur, à l'effet de rechercher et juger les auteurs et fauteurs de l'incendie qui a spontanément éclaté dans les différents quartiers de la ville de Moscou, dans les journées du quatorze et quinze de ce mois, et qui s'est ensuite continué pendant les 16^me^, 17^me^, and 18^me^ suivant.

" La Commission convoquée par l'ordre de son Président, s'étant réunie au Palais Dolgoruky, la séance a été ouverte par la lecture du procès verbal d'information, et des pièces tout à charge qu'à décharge des accusés.

" Cette lecture terminée, le Président a ordonné à la Garde d'amener les accusés, au nombre de vingt-six, qui ont été introduits libres et sans force.

" Après leur avoir donné connoissance des faits à leur charge, avoir séparément entendu les déclarations et dépositions des témoins, avoir entendu les accusés saisis en flagrant délit, mettant le feu à différentes maisons, et s'être fait représenter les divers moyens mis en usage par les incendiaires, comme mêches, fusées, cadenats phosphoriques, souffre, et autres matières com-

bustibles trouvées sur les accusés, ou placés à dessein dans plusieurs habitations,

" La Commission a reconnu, que depuis trois mois le Gouvernement Russe, présentant sans doute le danger de la lutte dans laquelle il s'était engagé, et l'impossibilité d'empêcher l'armée Française d'arriver à Moscou, avait résolu d'employer dans sa défense des moyens extraordinaires d'incendie et de destruction, reprouvés par les nations civilisées ; qu'il avait accueilli, à cette effet, les propositions d'un certain Docteur Schmidt, Anglais, (quoique se disant Allemand), mécanicien et machiniste de profession, lequel appelé en Russie, arriva dans les premiers jours du mois de Mai dernier ; qu'après plusieurs conférences secrettes avec les principales autorités, il fut s'installer au château de Vorontzoff, situé à six verstes de la ville, sur le chemin de Kalouga ; qu'un détachement de 160 hommes d'infanterie et douze dragons furent à ce château pour couvrir les mystérieuses opérations de Schmidt, et empêcher les curieux de pénétrer jusqu'à lui ; qu'il est généralement connu, qu'il construissit un ballon aërostatique, d'une grandeur considérable, qu'on prétendait devoir renfermir une machine exterminative, qu'il assurait pouvoir diriger à volonté.

" Qu'environ quinze jours avant l'entrée de l'armée Française à Moscou, des gros tonneaux

de poudre à canon furent envoyés à Vorontzoff, avec des artificiers, qui restèrent attachés au Docteur Schmidt, et travaillirent sous sa direction.

" Qu'il est démontre qui cet appareil de construction d'un grand ballon n'a été imaginé que pour en emposer, et qu'on ne s'occupa nullement au château Vorontzoff que d'ouvrages d'artifice, et de confection d'autres machines incendiaires.

" Qu'il est constant que toutes les dépenses faites pour la confection du ballon et des machines ont été supportés par le Gouvernement Russe.

" Que le Comte Rostopschine, Gouverneur militaire de Moscou, certain, depuis la bataille de Mojaisk, de l'arrivée prochaine de l'armée Française, arrêta alors le plan d'incendier cette capitale par tous les moyens qui étaient en son pouvoir.

" Qu'il fit une proclamation aux habitans, dans laquelle on remarque le passage suivant: ' Armez-vous; n'importe de quelles armes, mais surtout de fourches, qui conviennent d'autant mieux contre le Français, qu'ils resemblent pour le poids à des bottes de paille: à défaut de les vaincre, nous les brulerons dans Moscou s'ils ont l'audace d'y entrer.'

" Que pour parvenir à son but avec plus de certitude, le Gouverneur Rostopschine, avant son

départ, fit ouvrir les portes des prisons dites de l'Ostrog et du Yam, où se trouvaient renfermés les malfaiteurs, qu'il en sortit environ huit cents criminels, et que pour prix de leur liberté on exigua qu'ils misent le feu à la ville vingt-quatre heures après l'arrivée des troupes Françaises.

" Que plusieurs officiers et militaires de l'armée Russe, et des gens de police, reçurent sécretement l'ordre de rester travestis à Moscou, pour diriger les incendiaires, et donner le signal de l'embrasement.

" Qu'il est notoirement connu, que pour ôter tout moyen de sécours contre l'incendie, le Gouverneur Rostopschine avait donné l'ordre, et fait sortir dans la matinée du 14^{me} de ce mois, toutes les pompes à feu des vingt quartiers de la ville, avec les chariots, crochets, seaux, et utensiles, ainsi que les chevaux destinés à ce service.

" Que les matières inflammables de toutes espèces, et particulièrement des cadenats remplis de phosphore envelopés dans des lignes souffrés, déposés, et placés dans différentes maisons, démontrent évidemment que l'incendie tenait à un plan concerté.

" Que les mêches et fusées saisies entre les mains de plusieurs militaires et particuliers Russes, au moment de leur arrestation, signalèrent de suite, sans nul équivoque, les véritables

auteurs d'l'incendie, dont un grand nombre pris sur le fait furent, par une mouvement d'indignation spontané, fusillés par les patrouilles Françaises, ou assommés par les habitans même.

" Le rapporteur donna son rapport, et les conclusions ; les accusés donnèrent les moyens de leur défense ; et après qu'ils eurent déclaré qu'ils n'avaient rien à y ajouter, le Président ayant demandé aux membres de la Commission s'ils avaient des observations à faire ; sur leur réponse négative, et avant d'aller aux opinions, a ordonné aux accusés de se retirer ; le conseil déliberant à huis clos, seulement en présence du Procureur Impérial. Puis le Président, pour chacun des accusés, apposa la question aux nommés ci-après :

" 1. Sebationoff Jean Ivanoff, agé du 67 ans, bedeau de l'Eglise St. Phillipe de Moscou.

" 2. Ignakieff Pitu, agé de 32 ans, né à Moscou, Gentilhomme, Lieutenant au 1er Reg^{t}. de Chasseurs à pied de Moscou.

" 3. Wassilioff Nicolai, agé 35 ans, né à Moscou, Maréchal ferrant.

" 4. Medzoff Fedor, agé de 33 ans, au 9^{me} Reg^{t}. d'Infanterie Russe.

" 5. Baroff Streton, agé de 29 ans, né à Nikolsk, peintre au mignature.

" 6. Wassily Ermoloff, agé de 49 ans, né à Obukoff, manœuvre.

" 7. Karlam Alexis, agé de 40 ans, né à Vesen, soldat de police à Moscou.

" 8. Beliheroff Nicolai, agé de 50 ans, né à Moscou, domestique.

" 9. Thomas Jean Christophe, agé de 33 ans, né à Moscou, commis-marchand.

" 10. Ivanoff Simeon, agé de 18 ans, né à Mojuisk, tapissier.

" 11. Zestiperoff André, agé de 45 ans, né à Vologda, soldat de police.

" 12. Yekenoff Fedor, agé de 55 ans, né à Sembusk, soldat de police, Moscou.

" 13. Stigneviez Petus, agé 30 ans, né à Moscou, peintre.

" 14. Ogakomoff Elias, agé de 18 ans, né à Sembusk, Maréchal ferrant.

" 15. Maximus Jevan, agé de 70 ans, né à Koslow, domestique du Prince Sibirsky.

" 16. Aulıramion Simeon.

" 17. Serontoff Nicolas, agé de 33 ans, né à Moscou, peintre.

" 18. Sirgen Fedoroff, agé de 48 ans, né à Moscou, soldat de police à Moscou.

" 19. Motuez Lucian, agé de 40 ans, né à Grodno, soldat de police à Moscou.

" 20. Abramoff Gavriloff, agé de 56 ans, né à Serponhoff, soldat de police.

" 21. Nikifor Semoiloff, agé de 51 ans, né à Novosel, soldat de police.

" 22. Begloff Fedor, agé de 52 ans, né à Ruben, soldat de police.

" 23. Logonoff Stephan, agé de 30 ans, né à Karascheloff, domestique.

" 24. Gregorieff Fedor, agé de 36 ans, né à Moscou, soldat de police.

" 25. Schistapeanoff.

" Sont-ils coupable d'avoir mis le feu à des maisons de Moscou, dans le dessein d'incendier la ville ? Les voix recueillies, en commençant par le grade inférieur, le Président ayant donné son opinion le dernier, la Commission déclare à l'unanimité que les individus ci-après dénommés, savoir :

" 1. Ignakieff Petus, agé de 32 ans, né à Moscou, du 1^er^ Reg^t^. de Chasseurs à pied à Moscou.

" 2. Baroff Stretin, agé de 29 ans, né à Nikolsk, peintre au mignature.

" 3. Karlam Alexis, agé de 40 ans, né à Moscou, soldat de police à Moscou.

" 4. Thomas Jean Christophe, agé de 33 ans, né à Moscou, commis-marchand.

" 5. Stignieviz Petus, agé de 30 ans, né à Moscou, peintre.

" 6. Ogakamoff Elias, agé de 18 ans, né à Sembrisk, Maréschal ferrant.

" 7. Maximus Jevan, agé de 70 ans, né à Kostof, domestique de Prince Sibirsky.

" 8. Auhramion Simeon.— (Ici plusieurs nous manquent.)

" 9. Sirgen Fedoroff, agé de 48 ans, né à Moscou, soldat de police à Moscou, — sont coupables.

" Sur quoi le Procureur Impérial a fait son requisition pour l'application de la peine.

" Les voix recueillies de nouveau par le Président dans la forme indiquée ci-dessus, la Commission, faisant droite au dit réquisitoire, condamne à l'unanimité les dix individus designés ci-dessus à la peine de mort.

" Et à l'égard de quinze individus ci-après dénommés,

	Agé
Sabationoff J. Ivanoff -	67
Wassilioff Nicolai - -	35
Gregorieff Fedor - -	36
Wassily Ermoloff - -	49
Beliheroff Nicolai - -	50
Ivanoff Simeon - -	18
Zestiperoff André - -	45
Yekenoff Fidor - -	55
Motuez Lucian - -	40
Seachow Scrail - -	54
Abramoff Gavriloff - -	56
Nikifor Semoiloff - -	51
Begloff Fedor - -	52
Logonoff Stephan - -	30
Schistapeanoff - -	—

La Commission Militaire, considérant qu'ils ne sont pas suffisament convaincus, les condamne à être detenus dans les prisons de Moscou, pour prévenir le mal qu'ils pouvaient faire; ordonne en outre l'impression de l'affiche, et la distribution de mille examplaires; et enjoint au rapporteur de faire connaître le présent jugement aux condamnés; et au surplus, de le faire exécuter dans tout son contenu dans les 24 heures.

" Fait, close, et jugé en séance publique, le jour, mois et an que dessus, et les membres de la Commission ont signé avec le Rapporteur et le Greffier la minute du jugement.

(Signés)

" WEBER.
" Le Général Baron SAUNIER.
" JAUVE DE GUIBERT.
" Le Colonel Baron BODELIN.
" L'Adjutant Commandant, CHR. THERY.
" Le Général Baron MICHEL.
" Le Général Grand Prévôt de l'Armée. LAUER.

" Major Général faisant fonction du Procureur Impérial.

" COMTE MONTHION."

I had an opportunity of ascertaining, that, on the French taking possession of the house of a foreign resident, who had escaped on the approach of their army, a servant who had been there twenty-seven years, having a *penchant* for his old abode, returned and offered his services to the new occupant; but the latter refused to receive him, imagining that he intended to set fire to the building. The following is a letter written to the superior officer on this subject.

" Mess^{rs} les Officiers logis dans la maison de . . . . . laisseront entrer le nommé . . . . . domestique depuis environ 27 ans chez la d^{t} propriétaire.

" Moscou, 10^{me} 8^{bre}, 1812.

" Le Commandant du 5^{me} District,

" SCHREISGUTT."

" Je ne puis laisser entrer si je ne sache très-positivement, ce que c'est que cet homme, et s'il n'est pas capable ou d'incendier ou de voler. La surété des papiers, qui me sont confiés par le Prince Major Général, exige cette précaution. J'ai assez des domestiques, et je n'ai de quoi loger ni nourrir cet homme.

" L'Inspecteur aux Revues employé près du Prince Neuchâtel Major Général,

" BARON DU FRESNES."

"L'homme en question est le domestique du propriétaire de la maison. Voilà ce qui m'a été confirmé par MM. les officiers de police. On ne peut donc pas lui réfuser le logement, quand à la nourriture il sera forcé à faire comme font tous les habitans de la ville.

"SCHREISGUTT."

It is unnecessary to pursue the matter further, since a doubt can hardly remain as to the Russians themselves being the authors of that conflagration which had the effect of expelling the French from Moscow, ensuring the safety of the empire, and was instrumental in accomplishing the downfall of Napoleon from that proud superiority he assumed over Europe, and wresting from him those powers he had so long held with a convulsive grasp.

Such was the levity of the French, and the unconcern manifested by them, that the theatre was thrown open, and a piece performed on the 10th of October, although the conflagration was then raging furiously. Such desperate madness, for it hardly deserves a better name, would be absolutely incredible, were it not for the testimony of the placards themselves, that were stuck up on this occasion. But as copies of these have already appeared in English works, it is unnecessary to introduce them here. Among other pieces performed, with the flames about their

ears, was one very aptly called, "The Game of Hazard;" and a second, "The Chance of War."

The horrid catastrophe which followed, when the French army were literally burned out, or chased by the flames of Moscow, is well known; nor is it necessary to dwell upon the dreadful, the unparalleled scenes of famine, wretchedness, and death, which overtook them in their retreat, "unchaining all the furies of revenge," when they were exposed to the blasts and storms of Heaven. How contrary was all this to the calculations of Napoleon, who was so completely deceived by the climate, that on his first entering the city, where all was serenity, he exclaimed, "*O! quel beau ciel! — comme Italie absolument! —superbe!*" Napoleon himself had a most narrow escape from the flames, through which he galloped on horseback; and, after the example he had shown in Egypt, he then hurried himself into a sledge, and made his personal escape, leaving his army to make the best of their return home. Could Napoleon, however, have foreseen the fate that awaited him — that the measure of his disgrace was not yet full — that he who had founded what he considered a new dynasty, which should give its future sovereigns to France, was to terminate his days in exile, at a distance from, and almost unheeded by, those whose fortunes were once at his nod, he would probably have rather chosen to have fallen in the field

of slaughter, and die "with harness on his back." After all, his apparent stoicism under such a reverse of fortune, — such a complete revulsion of his nature, — is not one of the least striking circumstances in the life of that extraordinary man, nor the most uninteresting in the page of history. Few of his soldiers survived to render an account of the awful tragedy and overwhelming destruction which had taken place. Their track was marked by thousands of carcasses of men and horses, covered with the fowls of the air, and blocking up the very roads, and many of these were collected in piles, set fire to, and reduced to ashes. The hands and toes of many of the fugitives were bitten off by frost, and several, in order to find protection from the pitiless storm that raged with a fury as ungovernable as it is indescribable, actually killed their horses, and tore them open to afford them shelter. Further, a bridge on which part of the army passed, similar to the one in Leipsic, broke down, and 1000 perished. The whole altogether baffles imagination, much more description; and the heart sickens at the very thoughts of the awful and unparalleled wretchedness that occurred.*

* An odd story is told of a French soldier who hid some money near a village, in order to take it with him on his return to France. He was made prisoner after the defeat at Moscow, and sent to Siberia, but was afterwards liberated. Recollecting his valuable deposit, he proceeded to the spot; but in place of his cash found a letter in a box, directing

"I hate a potent madman, who keeps all
Mankind awake, while he, by his great deeds,
Is drumming hard upon this hollow world,
Only to make a sound to last for ages."

The state of Moscow, in the mean while, was deplorable: thousands of houses were destroyed, numbers of human beings perished, and property to an enormous amount was swallowed up by the devouring element; but the total number of men, women, and children that perished, it is impossible to calculate. The inhabitants, however, were, in some degree, reimbursed for the sacrifices they had made, six millions being subscribed by the Russians, and very large sums in England, which has, on every occasion, stood forward in behalf of the oppressed. Each inhabitant stated his losses by petition, and it may be observed, that the nobility, though they sustained less real privations than the rest, received, in fact, more than the other classes. In order to give some idea of the destruction committed, it will suffice here to say, that previous to the conflagration*, the number of houses built of

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him to go to a banker's at Nantz, where he would receive the money, and interest since 1812. He followed this strange advice, and what was still more strange, obtained the money, but could never discover who had adopted this mode of preserving it in safety.

* It is remarkable that this place has been repeatedly subject to conflagration. In 1736 (when about the same

brick were 2567, of wood 6591, and after the enemy had decamped, there remained only 526 of the former, and 2100 of the latter. The population was reduced from 300,000 to one-eleventh part of that number. The English church, situated in the slaboda, or environs, was destroyed, with the house and effects of the chaplain, Dr. Beresford, and with the communion plate, amounting to 40,000 rubles.

When we were here, the greater part of the ruins were still standing, awful mementos of the horrors of war. Part of the Kremlin was unroofed, and grass was growing on the walls. Great exertions, however, were making both in rebuilding the houses and widening the streets. The new town is on a plan quite modern, and some of the streets are so completely metamorphosed, that a person, who had been absent a few years, would hardly recognise the place. But much as these changes will tend to improve the city, they have deprived it of the interest of its former antique physiognomy, except so far as regards the Kremlin and a few other structures. The style of these edifices appear to be no longer imitated; but their fantastic, yet highly picturesque forms, are succeeded by buildings which,

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time a similar conflagration took place at St. Petersburg) 2000 houses were destroyed by fire; a second occurred in 1750; and a third in 1752, when 18,000 were consumed.

stately as they are, present features common to the architecture of the rest of Europe.*

The folly that accounteth itself wisdom was strikingly exemplified in the conduct of Napoleon, with regard to the invasion of Russia. Had he followed the judicious advice offered by Berthier, wintered at Berlin, or in the Prussian states, and set out for Russia in spring, it is highly probable that the whole empire would have been at his feet. Surely the page of history has been written in vain, when we thus find its lessons thrown away upon those who ought most to study them. Is not Russia, also, grasping at an extent of territory that will only increase her already gigantic bulk, without adding to her energies; and which, by rendering her limits more unwieldy, may ultimately enfeeble rather than strengthen her? There is little doubt that she has cast a longing eye upon Turkey, which it is her grand object to annex to herself; not so much for any addition of territory†, as with the view of gaining a key to the

* Many vessel-loads of bricks were shipped at Rochester to forward the rebuilding of this city.

† European Turkey contains 180,074 square miles, Asiatic Turkey 447,679, and her African dominions 276,480, making a total of 904,233 square miles. The population of European Turkey amounts to 9,700,000; of Egypt, to 2,490,000; and of Asiatic Turkey, to 12,500,000; amounting, in whole, to 24,690,000.

Mediterranean, and being thus enabled to cope with the flag of Great Britain in maritime force.

When he learned Alexander's designs upon Turkey, Napoleon said that he would oppose them, as they would "destroy the equilibrium of Europe;" and, I may remark here, *par parenthèse*, that the anxiety expressed by the ruler of France, on this occasion, with regard to the balance of Europe, is not a little strange, considering how he himself had been struggling for years, and by every artifice, to upset it! The mischief, however, lay not so much in the act itself, as in the actor: while the equilibrium was destroyed by Napoleon, it was only for the glory of France; but when Alexander contemplated this, then it became high time that Europe should be reminded of her peril: — the highwayman who was robbed by a pickpocket, indignantly remarked, that there was neither justice nor honesty in the world. But to return from the subject of Napoleon's sensibility, on a point of political justice, — the changes that have taken place since the death of Alexander, and the present posture of affairs in the east of Europe, seem to threaten the Ottoman power, the great barrier between Russia and the Mediterranean; while, by the affair of Navarino, we have virtually sided with the eagle against the crescent, and seconded the policy of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Our sympathies may be enlisted on

the part of Greece; but policy demands that we should support Turkey, as a counterpoise in the scale against Russia. In this conflict between interest and opinion, — between what we owe to an infidel ally, and an oppressed Christian race, — a people degraded and rendered brutal by ages of suffering and slavery, — it is difficult to decide how we ought to act under such embarrassing and critical circumstances; whether it behoves us to stand neuter, or boldly make common cause with one party, and abide by the consequences. A mere extent of her present territory would be rather prejudicial than advantageous to Russia, as it would tend to enfeeble her by dissipating her powers, and diverting her attention from the improvement of her domestic organization. As in the physical, so in the political body, rapid increase of growth generally bears within itself the seeds of disease, and the vital functions lose their healthy tone. Still it cannot be denied, that Constantinople would be to Russia a new hand, as it were, the acquisition of which would be worth purchasing, even at the expense of a considerable portion of what she already possesses. With a line of maritime territory along the shores of the Black Sea, the sea of Marmora, and the Archipelago, her commercial and maritime resources would be increased tenfold. The question is, would such a change be injurious or not to the

rest of Europe? As an enemy she would, of course, be far more formidable than at present; but, on the other hand, as an ally — as offering new marts of commerce to her neighbours — as identifying her interests with theirs, Russia, civilised, enlightened, liberal, and pacific, might become as beneficent as powerful, and distinguish herself not by her conquests, but by her zeal in the great, holiest, and noblest cause, that of the welfare of the human race. But I shall be reminded, that this is but a baseless Utopian scheme; and that I am drawing a picture totally unwarranted by experience and history. Possessed of Turkey, she would not stop there: Persia also must be invaded to be civilised; the Persians overcome, India would beckon her onward, and we should tremble for oureastern possessions; nor would she be contented until she had extended herself from the pole to the equator. But is not this picture equally overcharged? — do not our fears paint as delusively as our hopes? The vast fabric must collapse by its own weight: up to a certain point, the edifice may be reared; but if the builders aspire beyond this, their ambition will but have prompted them to accelerate the ruin of their structure, and to entomb themselves beneath the falling mass. Provinces so distant soon learn to feel their own natural power; nor would they fail to assert their independence. Such

gigantic conquests on the part of Russia would be the means of carrying into Asia European civilisation; they might, for a while, lend her a gorgeous lustre, and but for a while: it would be merely the splendid train of an imperial robe, imposing to the spectator, but fatiguing to its wearer; and those who were appointed to bear up the costly and tempting burden, would think themselves justified in lopping off the cumbersome excrescence, and dividing it among themselves. If the sovereigns of Russia be gifted with prudence, they will, at least for the next century, instead of aiming at conquest and useless domination, attend to their domestic affairs — to what Catherine was pleased to term her "*petit ménage*." Constantinople, however, lies so temptingly, and perhaps, too, the merit of expelling the infidels from that beautiful region of Europe, offers so seductive a pretence, that the Russian monarch would be glad to avail himself of it on the first occasion. The Russian government is aware of its power in this quarter, nor do their ambassadors scruple to hold out threats to the Porte, and menace it with instant invasion or blockade should their demands be opposed.*

* The violence of Count Stroganov, the Russian minister, at the period I visited the Turkish capital, which occasioned so much conversation, and kept the Turks in a constant state of alarm, formed a most striking contrast to the mild

Deserted by us, the Grand Signior has little chance of making any efficient resistance against the forces of Russia, whenever the latter power shall deem it expedient to come to extremities, and to strike a decisive blow. Whether Russia would be content with the advantages thus gained, and use them fairly, such a change be beneficial to Europe generally, or whether it would only be the precursor of greater contentions, are questions to which even the keenest-sighted politician may not be prepared to give a satisfactory reply.

With regard to the claims of Greece on our sympathy and assistance, it is not easy to see how we can redress her wrongs, without openly deserting and opposing the Turk, and thereby leaving him an easy prey to the power of Russia; unless some mutual compact, so devoutly to be wished, could be made by all parties, insuring the independence of Greece, pacification of the Levant, and giving her the undisturbed possession of the Morea and the islands, to be consolidated into one active power, or form of government, suited to the ancient recollection

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and conciliating conduct of Sir Robert Liston, British ambassador, who, while resident there, was held in the highest estimation, and certainly evinced great diplomatic tact, generally carrying his measures without giving umbrage to the Porte; a point that frequently required no common address, and some firmness of purpose.

of the high importance and distinction of Greece; and on those conditions, permitting the Ottomans to retain their other European possessions unmolested. In the present struggle, no doubt can be entertained that both parties have been culpable, and a series of butcheries have taken place, without any decisive blow having been made on either side. Concession and adjustment of differences are lost sight of, so that probably after years of protracted bloodshed, pillaging, and other horrors, matters will terminate pretty nearly as they commenced. If other powers interfere at all, it is their most imperious duty to do so peremptorily and effectively, otherwise they had better leave the combatants to themselves, and be content with remaining passive spectators of the fray.

CHAP. VI.

Return to St. Petersburg. — Bible Society. — Character of the Emperor Alexander. — Death of his consort. — Insurrection of St. Petersburg. — Nicholas' coronation. — Anecdotes. — Difficulty in obtaining passports. — Final departure from St. Petersburg.

HAVING now viewed, as far as our time would permit, all the more important objects in this truly interesting capital, to which we regretted that we could not devote a few more weeks, we returned direct to St. Petersburg, where we immediately began to make preparations for our journey to England, by way of Finland. Before, however, I speak of the difficulties we encountered with regard to passports, &c. I shall introduce, in this chapter, some miscellaneous information relative to Russia, and a few details connected with circumstances that have taken place since we quitted the country, but for which I have not been able to procure authentic documents. Among those institutions, respecting which I was desirous of obtaining some particulars worth communicating, was the Bible Society, connected with the parent institution in London.*

* For twenty-three years the British Bible Society has been making the most unparalleled exertions for the dissemination

This Society was founded at St. Petersburg in 1813, when the Emperor Alexander became a zealous member of it, and presented a donation of 25,000 rubles, besides a yearly subscription of 10,000. Its object was, to furnish every family in the Russian empire with a Bible, at least a Testament, that all, from the "least to the greatest," might have opportunity of perusing the word of truth.

The printing of the Scriptures, in the different dialects, was accordingly proceeded with; a stereotype office was established at St. Petersburg, with all the necessary apparatus; and men of talent, fidelity, and zeal, were employed on the spot to superintend it. A depôt was also opened by the Society, for the reception of such Bibles as were printed in the capital, or received from England. Without, however, entering into all its details, it will here be sufficient to say, that there have been printed at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other places, (for the Society had 289 sections, or central quarters, and auxiliaries, to co-operate with that at St. Petersburg,) 704,831 copies of the Scriptures; and those received at the depôt, between 1813 and 1823, were

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of the Word of God. During that period it has sent forth five million copies of the Scriptures, and has expended in the prosecution of this work 1,424,985*l.* sterling; of which 461,000*l.* has been devoted to its distribution in foreign lands.

156,136; and the number issued were 427,704. In addition to the support afforded by the Emperor, the Society received the marked countenance of Prince Galitzin, and others of His imperial Majesty's council; nor were the bishops, and other persons of ecclesiastical and civil rank, less zealous in co-operating with the Society. Besides which, an ukase was formally issued, February 28. 1816, enjoining the circulation of the Bible.

Matters continued to go on thus prosperously for upwards of ten years, during which the members of the Society showed the most laudable activity in promoting the great objects of this truly Christian undertaking; and although, during the latter part of his reign, the Emperor might, from the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, have probably found himself under some difficulty as to countenancing the Society to the same extent as at first, yet he never did any thing that could be construed as a wish to fetter the operations of the Society, or oppose any of its measures.

Contrary to all expectation, however, every thing was completely at a stand when we were here. A new ministry had taken place, in consequence of the removal of that excellent man, Prince Galitzin; and a blow has since been directed to the labours of the Society, by an ukase, 12th April, 1826, on the part of the present Emperor,

directed to the metropolitan of St. Petersburg; of which the following is an exact translation:—

"Having taken into consideration the representation of Your Eminence, and of the metropolitan Eugenius, respecting the difficulties which present themselves to the progress of the cause of the Russian Bible Society; and considering your opinions well founded, I order you, as president of the said Society, to suspend its activity, in all its operations, without exception, until my further permission. You are hereby empowered to extend this my order to all the committees, branches, and associations connected with the Society throughout Russia; and, at the same time, to obtain a particular account of all property, movable and immovable, in houses, lands, books, stocks, and money, belonging to the Society, wherever these are to be found, and to furnish me with the most accurate and circumstantial information possible thereof. The sale of the Holy Scriptures, already printed in Sclavonian and Russian, as also in the other languages in use among the inhabitants of the Russian empire, I permit to be continued at the fixed prices.

NICHOLAS."

From the terms in which this extraordinary document was couched, it requires no great

depth of understanding to discover *who* was the author that had laid the plan for effectually suspending their operations. Whether this proclamation arose from an undue influence exercised by the new ministry over Nicholas, or that he himself entertained some jealousy of the success and influence of the institution; whether he suspected that it was the instrument of political purposes, or apprehensive that the diffusion of scriptural knowledge might prompt the Russians to a spirit of religious inquiry dangerous to their obedience as subjects, it is not easy to determine; but it is certain that the powers of the Bible Society were not only crippled, but it was prohibited from any further proceedings; in consequence of which the principal missionaries have returned to England. It is only necessary to mention further, that I found that an edition of 10,000 copies of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Ruth, had been lying in the printing-office of this Society for more than three years, waiting till the archbishop should grant permission to publish it; and he, doubtless, regulated his proceedings according to the wishes and sentiments entertained by the higher powers.

The depôts of the Society are merely open for the sale of the Scriptures in the various languages of the empire; but in consequence of the ukase, all the foreign Bibles have been

handed over to the Minister of Public Instruction, who, I have no doubt, will do with them either just as he finds proper, or according to the instructions which may be given to him. Under such circumstances, they might with equal propriety have been consigned to the pious care of the Emperor of China or the Grand Signior, for any benefit that is likely to be derived from them as long as they are permitted to remain in the hands of his Reverence.* Devoutly is it to be wished that the operations of that part of the Bible Society which laboured for the native Russians, may be no further impeded or restricted, but every impediment may be removed, and that all may cordially co-operate in disseminating the truths of the Gospel; and notwithstanding the sacred volume is assailed with tempests, may it stand like a rock in the ocean, as a beacon to those wandering over the deceitful and tempestuous waves! †

* Since the above remarks were written, the Emperor Nicholas has authorised the establishment of a Protestant Bible Society, for supplying the Protestants in Russia with the Scriptures. Prince Lieven, who is as much distinguished for unaffected piety as for his rank, is appointed president, with liberty to form a proper committee, and otherwise organise the institution. It is gratifying also to learn, that the Bibles and property of the Protestant branch of the former Russian Bible Society have been commanded by the Emperor to be delivered to this new establishment.

† Such was the hostility shown at one time to the circulation of the Scriptures, from apprehensions entertained by

On the introduction of the Lancasterian, or British system of education, the Emperor Alexander declared himself the warm friend of what promised to contribute so extensively to diffuse the blessings of education throughout his dominions.* That he was really solicitous for the welfare of all classes of his subjects, there is little doubt; and

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the Pope, that on June 29. 1816, an extraordinary bull was directed to the primate of Poland, complaining of the Bible Society, and declaring "we are shocked by this most crafty device, by which the foundation of *our religion* is undermined." Again, "in order to remedy this pestilence, this defilement of the faith, so dangerous to souls," &c. &c.

* It is impossible to touch upon this topic, without adverting to those indefatigable means on the part of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent to introduce this liberal system throughout the globe. In such noble work, the labours of this illustrious personage, by night and day, were altogether unparalleled; and I cannot forget how often His Royal Highness has mentioned to me the earnest manner in which he had pressed personally, and in writing, on the Emperor the expediency of its adoption over his dominions, who promised it should receive his decided countenance. Never did an individual exhibit so much true zeal and ardour in a cause, or use such strenuous exertions for its promotion, as this lamented advocate of suffering humanity, whose name will be kept alive in the faithful page of history. It is said that seven cities claimed the honour of Homer's birth. All the benevolent institutions in the metropolis, it may be observed, were viewed in the same light by this prince, since he pleaded their interests, and gave them his strongest support.

"Sine dubio magnus omnium judicio hic vir extitit."

when we consider how much was accomplished during his reign, the number of universities, gymnasia, and provincial schools established within that period; the attention paid to literature and science; the various voyages of discovery undertaken at the expence of the government; and the munificence almost invariably displayed towards every undertaking that had for its object any kind of public improvement — it is impossible to refuse paying a just tribute to his virtues, and holding him up as a model to his successors. Russia has been peculiarly fortunate in having had, within little more than a century, three patriotic sovereigns, who employed despotic power for beneficent purposes; and the names of Peter, Catherine, and Alexander, deserve to be cherished by her with filial regard.

Magnanimous in the field, Alexander was unassuming in private life; and although possessed of the means of indulging in boundless magnificence, his habits of life were particularly simple, and opposed to every thing resembling ostentation. Will it be credited, that, during his last illness, the Sovereign of "all the Russias" laid not on down and purple, but on a small iron bedstead, without even a curtain attached to it, while his constant and sole attendant, the ministrant to his wants, the nurse beside his humble couch, was the imperial partner of his throne! Scandal,

which omits no opportunity of prying into the private life of monarchs, and which, making no allowance for human infirmities, or the peculiar situation in which those thus exposed on all sides to temptation are placed, delights to unveil, with a cruel and reckless hand, the foibles which they themselves would conceal out of deference to virtue, — I say scandal has not spared the character of this prince, but insinuated that little affection existed between him and his consort, who were united at a very early age. This may be so; for it is rare indeed to find in the matrimonial alliances of royalty those attachments of the heart which such unions almost necessarily exclude; but that the imperial pair must have entertained a high degree of mutual esteem for each other; that on the one side there was confidence, on the other cheerful submission, the circumstance that has just been mentioned strongly testifies. Alexander's reign was not that of favourites and mistresses — of profligate and ambitious women — whose tyranny adds to the bitterness of oppression, and the sting of public insult. If, therefore, he was not altogether a pattern of conjugal fidelity, let him be charged of misconduct only by those who in private life have been undeviating examples of that virtue, and the number of his accusers will not be very formidable, while they will be far more charitable and less censorious than all the rest, who, disregard-

ing the practice of virtue themselves, are the first to upbraid others with the neglect of it.

The demise of the Emperor was soon followed by that of the Empress, in May 1826, at Belicv, on her way from Kaluga, in her thirty-seventh year, and twenty-third of her marriage. As she left no issue, this branch of the house of Paul is extinct. The next in succession to the throne was the Grand Duke Constantine; but to the astonishment of all Europe, he declined the crown, for reasons at present impenetrable, and only to be developed by time; although one cause assigned for his conduct was his unwillingness to assume the laborious task of governing such an extensive empire.

Others assert that some understanding had taken place between Alexander and him, and he had formally resigned all pretensions to the throne, on condition of being permitted to divorce his wife, in order that he might contract a second marriage with a subject; which alliance has taken place. But whatever was the nature of the agreement, and there cannot be a question but that there did exist some negotiation between the brothers, all pretensions to the imperial sceptre were renounced by him in favour of Nicholas.

The following letter, which on this occasion was written by the latter to Constantine, is here introduced, having never before been published:

"DEAR BROTHER,

"WITH heartfelt grief fully participating with Your Highness the deep affliction which has seized us both, I sought consolation in the thought, that in you, as the elder brother whom from my youth I have been accustomed to esteem and love from my soul, I should find a father and a sovereign.

"Your Highness," by your letter of Nov. 26. deprived me of that consolation; you forbade me to follow the emotions of my heart, and to fulfil that oath, which, although made to you not only from duty but from my internal feeling, you were not pleased to accept. But Your Highness cannot prohibit me from preserving feelings of attachment, and that internal oath which, having taken to you, I can never recall, and which on account of your love toward me, it will not be in your power to reject.

"The desires of Your Highness are fulfilled. I ascended to that station which you pointed out to me, and which you, although nominated according to the laws, declined to accept. Your will has been accomplished; but permit me to feel assured, that he who, contrary to my expectation and wish, has placed me on this very difficult road, will be on it my guide and conductor, — this duty you, in the presence of God, cannot refuse, cannot renounce; and to this power, to

you, as the elder brother, entrusted by Providence himself, I shall deem it the greatest happiness in life to be always in subjection. With these feelings I conclude my letter. I beseech the Almighty that he may in his clemency preserve the life of Your Imperial Highness, which is so precious to me.

"Cordially your faithful subject,

"NICHOLAS.

"Dec. 13. 1825."

With respect to the insurrection of December 14. 1825, when Nicholas was proclaimed, it is thought that for some time previous to his death, Alexander had been apprised that considerable discontent prevailed in different parts of the empire, and some commotion might be expected. This intelligence was first communicated to him by an English officer in the Russian service. On Alexander's death, the troops expected that Constantine was to succeed him; but finding their allegiance was to be transferred to his younger brother, they openly expressed their displeasure, and refused to take the oath. On this, determining to act decisively, and with a spirit adequate to the exigency of the occasion, Nicholas collected a number of other regiments, at the end of the street in front of the Admiralty, where the opposite party were stationed. Miloradovich the

governor addressed the refractory soldiers, but they refused to listen to him, and fired. The imperial guards then commenced an attack, and some field-pieces were discharged at the rebels. This, however, having no effect, the cannon were loaded with ball, and two rounds fired, which committed terrible slaughter, completely sweeping the streets. Some of the officers, too, of the loyal troops are said to have been disaffected, and merely to wait to see what turn affairs would take.

Notwithstanding the information he daily received from the numerous emissaries and spies by whom he was made acquainted with every thing that was passing, Miloradovich had been kept in complete ignorance of what was in agitation; for, on Nicholas acquainting him that some plot or conspiracy was hatching, and even naming some of the leaders, yet, relying on his "secret police," he assured the Emperor his suspicions were groundless; that the persons whom he had named as being implicated in such treachery, were all individuals of the highest character, and that he himself was in habits of intimacy with them, and possessed their confidence. In fact, they had completely thrown the governor off his guard, and the latter fell a sacrifice to his security, being shot in the insurrection.*

The coronation of the new Emperor and his

* Miloradovich was a general in the Russian service, and fought under General Suvarov.

consort was celebrated with great pomp at Moscow, and after the ceremony there was a banquet, at which no fewer than 24,000 persons were entertained. Inauspiciously as he may be said to have commenced his reign, it is to be hoped that Nicholas will gain the love of his subjects, and the esteem of Europe, by treading in the footsteps of his predecessor.

In one or two instances I have spoken somewhat harshly, not to say contemptuously, of the nobility of Russia; and we certainly heard some anecdotes that displayed a meanness almost bordering on dishonesty. But even granting them to be individually true, it does not follow that the persons of whom they were related were fair and average specimens of the class to which they belonged. Certain it is, that there are among the higher classes of them many men of liberal opinions and highly cultivated minds; several who apply themselves to poetry, the belles-lettres, and the sciences; while the number of literary and patriotic societies that have been formed of late years, show that the Russians appreciate the value of literature and the liberal arts. To compare their efforts with those of other countries, some of which have long since attained, and have now passed their zenith, would be unjust; but they certainly are advancing, and may perhaps distinguish themselves in every branch of science as much as those

who affect to consider it impossible that taste or knowledge should visit the gelid north. But that theory which would limit or parcel out intellect according to climate ought surely not to meet with much regard from us, unless we also be disposed to relinquish our own pretensions, and consent to be branded with the insulting epithet of *tramontani*. I have been assured that many of their poets exhibit a high degree of sensibility, of a far more delicate and generous character than the hackneyed and trim sentiment of the Italian school. For unaffected sweetness of language, genuine pathos, nobleness of thought, and moral grandeur, Ozerov is allowed to be, not only by his own countrymen, but many foreigners, a tragic poet that may fairly challenge the most illustrious of any other country, Shakspeare alone excepted. Let us not, therefore, attempt to depreciate a nation to whom our posterity will probably be forced to concede the homage which genius will extort from all the civilized world. Far let us be from wishing to depict them as addicted to every failing, unless, indeed, we conceive that by so doing we atone for our own vices.

From this topic I must now advert to one less satisfactory, and which, I confess, put both my charity and patience to the proof. — We began to make preparations for our final depar-

ture from St. Petersburg, but many irksome and tedious formalities were to be submitted to before we were at liberty to quit it. First, we were obliged to insert our names three several times in the public papers, at the interval of a week between each notification. Thus we lost three more weeks; a matter of no slight importance in this latitude at such an advanced period of the year, and under the circumstances in which we were placed. We were also obliged to obtain from the landlord of the hotel a certificate that we had discharged our bill. These precautions arise from the jealousy natural to a despotic government *, which adopts these mea-

The jealousy of the Russian government is too notorious to require any proofs; yet to show that even a joke cannot be uttered with impunity, I will here relate an anecdote, communicated to me on unquestionable authority. In 1823, at a meeting of the Academy of Arts, three ministers were proposed as members; on which the vice-president, a man of considerable talent, and far more of the artist than the courtier, objected to their admission, as being quite unqualified. It was urged, in reply, that they were near the person of the Emperor, and might be of use to the institution. In some desultory conversation after the meeting had broken up, the vice-president, animadverting on the ineligibility of those who had been nominated, said that the Academy might as well have elected the emperor's coachman, as he too was near his person, and quite as much an artist as the individuals in question. This pleasantry did not fail to reach the ears of Miloradovich, and the unfortunate wit was summoned before him, and asked whether he really uttered the remark imputed to him. Disdaining to have recourse to any subterfuge, he replied that he had, but quite jocosely,

sures to prevent strangers from contracting debts, or attempting to elope from the kingdom and defraud their creditors. Such, in fact, is the extent to which this is carried, that a British merchant, however great his respectability and presumed responsibility to answer every demand, would find it utterly impossible to quit the capital for his native land, either on business, amusement, or a visit to his friends, without this formality, and even finding security for such sums as he might be indebted to others on account of transactions in business, although he should intend to return, and should be known to possess property fully adequate to discharge all claims upon him. This regulation has occasioned, as may be conceived, the most serious inconvenience to many honest and highly respectable merchants; nor can such restrictions but be condemned for their harshness, severity, and illiberality. Thousands of instances, indeed, occur, where, however urgent and pressing the

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and without in the least intending to reflect on those to whom it was applied. This, however, availed nothing: he was ordered to quit St. Petersburg in four-and-twenty hours, and proceed to enjoy the cool air of Siberia, as being best adapted to persons of his lively temperament. It is suspected, however, that no notice would have been taken of what had passed had it not been for the president, who was jealous of his talents, and availed himself of this opportunity to get him expelled from the institution.

occasion may be, the applicants would make their representations to the police in vain, and the law would be most rigidly enforced. That strangers should not be allowed to depart, probably never to return, without having previously satisfied their creditors, although in many cases even this is an unnecessary degree of strictness, may, as a general rule, be proper, and no doubt operate as a wholesome check upon those who might not otherwise be very scrupulous; but then if they can show that all claims of this kind are discharged, or if there are ample funds to meet debts to any extent, there can be no reason for any impediment or delay in obtaining a passport. Were this system of detention on account of unpaid debts introduced among us, it might cause some curious and not a little amusing incidents, since many of the flighty gentry would be weather-bound from their inability to raise the *wind*. As, however, enforced in Russia, and on the very first British subjects in point of opulence, this law becomes unnecessarily oppressive. We frequently heard of English ladies, who, although anxious to return to their own country with all expedition, have been detained for weeks in consequence of insuperable difficulties, even after they had encountered the greatest embarrassments in order to obtain passports. It may be doubted if there is to be found any other country where so many frivolous and

vexatious forms occur in this respect. The delays and trouble we experienced were almost endless, and required the exercise of all the patience we possessed. For my own part, in the whole course of travelling through Europe, I had never been so worried and tormented as now; and this was the case at the same time with other English travellers.

By way of information to our countrymen who visit this place, it may be here mentioned, that having obtained a certificate from our landlord — in England a certificate of bankruptcy is obtained with less trouble — we were obliged to deposit it in the district office. After this it was taken to the major of the quarter to be signed and sealed by him; and it was next delivered to the alien office to be stamped. This being done, a petition was presented to the governor for a passport; which having been written out, was taken to him for his subscription; and should the traveller, instead of going by land, prefer proceeding by sea, a passport must be taken to the Admiralty, too, for the sanction of that particular department. The passport we brought from Moscow was obliged to be produced and examined. After we obtained evidence of the farce of advertising — for the police and newspapers play into each other's hands — we called till we were absolutely tired for the governor's signature. The lies and excuses made

by his servants were most barefaced. We then addressed him by letter, entreating him to authorize our departure, and after waiting ten days, and going to and fro to his house almost every hour, we demanded a personal interview, but were refused. A second letter was then sent, but no notice taken of it; so that, indeed, at one time we were almost disposed to give up applying any further, and to consider ourselves prisoners at once. All travellers will be found to be very loud in their complaints on this subject, and certainly not without ample reason; for it is an evil that calls most imperiously for correction: and I appeal to every one who has set foot in Russia, as to the truth of what has been stated. If the imperial government would conciliate English travellers, and obtain their favourable report, it would act wisely in abolishing at once such tyrannical regulations, which not only irritate those who visit Russia, but deter others from proceeding thither. As managed at present, the system is most uselessly annoying; for all the benefit proposed from it might be obtained without occasioning the delay of a single day. As tending likewise to prohibit a nearer intercourse with foreigners, especially those who might be led by other views than those of mere interest, this must be prejudicial, and tend to retard the progress of civilization.

Having at length obtained the passport that had cost us so much trouble, and hired a Swedish servant, we took our final leave of St. Petersburg; and such was our irritation at the moment, from the provoking detention we had experienced, that so far from feeling any regret at leaving this splendid city, we exulted as much as if we had been prisoners escaping from captivity.

CHAP. VII.

Departure for Finland. — Pampoola. — German postmaster. — Finnish peasantry. — Viborg. — Miscellaneous remarks. — Urpala. — Hogsfors. — Rocky district. — Pyttis. — River Aberfors. — Fort Louisa. — Ilby. — Gallows.

Our steps were now directed towards Finland, and about eleven versts from St. Petersburg we approached a lake formed of a branch of the Neva, and afterwards a wood, extending to a vast distance. On leaving Drurushacio, where we changed horses, we found the road narrow, hilly, and hemmed in to the very edge of it with wood. When within view of the Gulf of Finland, we passed some buildings occupied as a paper manufactory. Many parts of the road were laid with logs of wood. At sunset we reached Balosiki, where a band of Russian peasants, male and female, were returning from the labours of the field, chanting their wild airs, accompanied with extraordinary action. Proceeding onward through a dark wood, we arrived at Raeitski, paying for twelve and a half versts three rubles, or the extraordinarily small sum of one penny farthing per English mile. Here we found that the authority of the podroshna, which had hitherto plagued us so much in Russia, ceased; at

least, it was not demanded, although hitherto not a single horse could be had without producing it; but now the animals were furnished on merely being called for, — a proof we were approaching happy Finland. This was sufficiently confirmed by the dag or daybook being produced, according to the custom of that country. Among other judicious regulations laid down, it is ordered that the post-houses and court-yards should be kept clean and comfortable, and beds provided, under the penalty of a fine. The weight of the luggage is fixed, and postillions are prohibited from driving at a quicker rate than seven English miles an hour. These books are examined monthly by a visitor appointed by government; and should any complaints be inserted, they are most strictly enquired into, and the postmaster punished.

Having travelled all night, we reached Pampoola, where we roused a portly German from his bed; and although "the iron tongue of midnight was now tolling twelve," he appeared so overjoyed at finding us to be English travellers, that he insisted on the whole of his family getting up, and forced us to sit down to refreshment. It afforded us no ordinary gratification to hear him speak in such laudatory terms of Old England. Never could a Boniface be more attentive to his guests; for he would not be satisfied till we had partaken of his "Anno Do-

mini ale." We soon found out that he was an old son of Mars, with locks as white as snow; and although he did not shoulder his crutch, being sound in limb, yet he exhibited most unequivocal proofs of his having been engaged in the heat of action, by pointing out the deep scars he had received when fighting under Suvarov. He entered into a detail of the "battles he had won;" but it would have occupied a long summer's day to have heard his interesting narrative to the end; and we regretted that we were obliged to place an embargo on his loquacity, by stopping him short in his recital, and returning to our carriage. Never can I forget the kindness, urbanity, and true hospitality of this old soldier, and trust that many travellers will yet stop to receive his courtesies, and enjoy his somewhat lengthy histories. Kuler and Hotocka were our next stages: we reached the latter in the morning, and found ourselves among a race of people altogether different from those we had hitherto met, in point of dress, appearance, physiognomy, and manners. Among these people, neither frowzy beards, slovenliness, nudity, nor grim visages, were to be seen; on the contrary, they appeared to be quite a superior race to the Russian peasantry. They are remarkably fair, their hair almost resembling flax, cleanly in their habits, wear white clothes, and are marked by a striking simplicity of man-

ners. We had soon an opportunity of observing them closely; for on changing horses we were surrounded by a number of both sexes, anxious to render us every possible assistance. The men were wrapped up in wide and thick long coats, as coarse, in fact, as a common blanket, with blue sashes round their waists, and had white pantaloons and boots. Farther on we met some hundreds of carts, drawn by diminutive animals, with a live cargo of Finns proceeding to the fair of Viborg, who showed the greatest politeness, taking off their hats, and making profound obeisance to us; marks of respect I do not recollect having observed at any time among the Russians. About the fourteenth verst from the frontier, the first Finnish house made its appearance. It was one story in height, built of wood, painted yellow, with a red roof, and the whole, bizarre as it was, had at least a neat and cheerful aspect. On entering the town of Viborg, which, with an extensive sheet of water, made a picturesque scene, we passed a drawbridge leading to the gate.

This is a tolerably handsome town, founded in 1293, and is the capital of a government of the same name, and the see of a bishop. It stands partly on a fortified eminence at the north-east point of the Gulf of Finland, about 110 miles north-west of St. Petersburg, and has a population of about 3500. There are four churches

here of the Russian, Catholic, Lutheran, and Finnish persuasions, and there is one principal street, with two others running parallel to it. It may be inferred that the citizens are not much disposed to engage in litigation, — if they be, I know not how they indulge in such a disposition, for there are no courts of law, all legal matters being settled by the police: and should this circumstance be thought not to argue much in favour of the degree of civilization to which they have attained, it must at least be allowed to be a pretty convincing proof of their simplicity, and plain, straight-forward dealing. It cannot be added that there are no beggars, but they are permitted to exercise their vocation only on Saturdays; which, it must be confessed, is rather a curious regulation. Lest, however, it should be conceived that the place has no signs whatever of polished life, it may not be amiss to state that it has a public theatre, where pieces are performed in the Swedish and German languages; and likewise a military garrison, although the cannon are now in a dismounted state; so that the inhabitants appear to be at peace both with their neighbours and among themselves. We observed great quantities of red berries, somewhat like cranberries, exposed for sale, and also of bark neatly put up like cord, and folded into balls, or the form of large bullets. Health and robustness, rather than beauty, seem

to be the characteristics of the females, except ruddy cheeks constitute any claim to the latter quality; neither do they appear greatly to study the art of setting off their persons to the best advantage, their principal attire being jackets and coloured petticoats. That they are not remarkably delicate in point of constitution, is evident from their not having recourse, even in such a climate, to shoes and stockings. The hotel at which we put up was kept by a native of Como in Italy, and is delightfully situate within view of a lake.*

Having now got beyond the latitude of postillions, our Swedish servant was obliged to mount the box, and take the reins. On leaving Viborg, we found the road narrow, but in most excellent order. We crossed several bridges of wood, of great length, and fenced with substantial railing. The views around were highly romantic, and approached in wild beauty to many in Norway. Several of the cottages were formed of rafters of wood, morticed into each other, and laid on blocks of granite four feet in length; a firm, if not elegant, mode of building. Among all the peasantry here a great degree of comfort seemed to prevail; for we found no symptoms of misery or squalidity. All, in short, were well

* The charges here were — tea and coffee, 2½ rubles; dinner, 5 rub.; medoc wine, 5 rub.; madeira, 5 rub.; champagne, 6 rub.; breakfast, 2½ rub.; lodging per night, 2½ rub.

clothed, healthy, and apparently contented. At a post-house, near to which stands the handsome villa of a merchant, where fresh horses were brought out, we heard a smattering of broken English from a native, who addressed us, and boasted to the gazers around that he had been in the British capital, and was capable of speaking that language.

During the next stage, we, for the first time in this country, observed the snow-plough. This, it may be remarked, was in the form of the primeval instrument for the purposes of agriculture, but had one side longer than the other, and was composed of two stakes joined together, so as to form an acute angle. The patches of land taken in for tillage were inclosed with wooden palings, formed of poles from fifteen to twenty feet in height, fixed upright in the ground, and six feet distant from each other. Between these are placed, sometimes horizontally, at others obliquely, spars of wood like steps, about four inches in breadth. At certain distances, too, are stakes projecting from the former on each side, to give them greater solidity. During this station the horses were small, but sure-footed, and travelled at a gallop. It is the practice here, when horses are warm, for the drivers to take hold of them by the nostrils, and pinch and shake their heads violently. From the fine state of the roads, — which are formed of gravel, and

adorned on each side with beautiful trees, among which the willow* and the verdant tapering fir were finely contrasted to the autumnal tint of the birch,— we might have imagined ourselves to be travelling along the avenue of some château. We were now near the Gulf of Bothnia, which soon after came into view. In this part of the country, children, not more than four years of age, are actually dressed like old men, with high night-caps, coarse striped jackets, and enormous boots, so that they look like dwarfs. Potatoes are highly prized in Finland, since every part of them is applied to some purpose; the tops or leaves, for instance, are most carefully collected and preserved, as also the stalks of peas and beans, which are hung up to dry on poles, and which have an exceedingly odd appearance, many of them actually resembling scarecrows. Most of the houses in the villages are covered with turf, and at the back of them are poles like flag-staffs, with vanes, rising considerably higher than the buildings. Here we observed no females lolling, sauntering, and chattering about their doors in groups, as in Russia; but most of them were employed, many being occupied in knitting stockings, at the same time singing

* It is said that the bark of the willow-tree, burned to ashes, and mixed with strong vinegar, forms a lixivium which effectually eradicates, by repeated application, warts, corns, and other cutaneous excrescences.

merrily, and enjoying the beauty of a brilliant sunny day. An English farmer would, doubtless, express his dissatisfaction at the state of some of the fields, they being crowded with burned stumps and roots of trees.*

With regard to posting in this country, it may be right to observe, that although you must take your own servant as a postillion, he is accompanied, from each post-house to the next station, by a person whose business is to take back the horses.

We were frequently accosted by peasants, who offered to sell us game which they had taken in snares; and as a proof of its cheapness, it may be mentioned that we bought a large pheasant for ten-pence, and a huge black cock for two-pence.

On departing from Lake Valeoki, where we dined, we beheld a church, the first since we had quitted Viborg, built and roofed with wood. At many of the post-houses is a magazine, appropriated as a depôt for provisions for the use of the military. There was one at Urpala, of one story in height, and near 500 feet in length. On proceeding, the admirable state of the roads continued; and on the sides of them were monstrous blocks of red granite tossed, jumbled, and split,

* An extraordinary circumstance occurred in this country some years ago: a piece of land, 4000 square ells in extent, sunk fifteen fathoms, but most of the inhabitants were saved.

as if by some terrible convulsion of nature, yet some of them as nicely cut in two as if it had been done by the most expert mason. It is extraordinary that in a country where there is such abundance of stone, houses should not be built of them instead of wood, if merely in order to guard against those extensive fires that frequently occur here.

The Finns do not appear to have as yet acquired much skill in the art of breaking-in horses, for the animals are very restive, and almost as wild as if no attempt whatever had been made to tame them. Unless, therefore, they are kept tightly reined and harnessed, they are apt to turn out of the road and resist the efforts of the driver to urge them forwards; and it is a thousand to one but that the carriage is upset: indeed, it is necessary that a traveller should bring his own harness, as that in use here is very weak, and continually breaking. On this account we were often obliged to stop; and at one time the animals were so fierce and ungovernable, that they started out of the road, and ran among some large stones, while the wheels grazed against an enormous piece of granite, so that it was altogether a miracle that our vehicle was not dashed in pieces. On our servant whipping the horses, the person who was to take them back, took off his hat and bowed, earnestly entreating him to spare them. Humane as this may appear to be, it was by no means quite dis-

interested; for as one of the horses, at least, generally belongs to these men, they only plead in behalf of that which is their own property, leaving the driver to flog the other as much as he pleases.

After passing innumerable bridges, we came in sight of a beautiful piece of water, with a great many islands; and in some parts the road ran within a hundred yards of it.

At Fredericksham, a fortified town built by Frederick the Great, the greater part of which had been burned, houses were building. It was here that, in 1783, an interview, which lasted three days, took place between the Empress of Russia and the King of Sweden. On reaching the gate at the other side of the town, the passport, which had been returned from the governor, was again demanded, making the third time of our being called upon to produce it, in passing through this small place. At nine o'clock in the evening we reached Hogsfors, after having travelled 130 versts from six in the morning. This spot is most romantically situate, there being a number of large cascades, which afford a supply of water for turning many mills for grinding corn.

Next morning, on setting out at eight o'clock, the fog was as thick as it frequently is in London during the month of December, whereby we were prevented from seeing the diversified

scenery around this truly beautiful place. It is not a little remarkable to find so excellent a road in a district abounding with such tremendous precipices and rocks, tossed and split into thousands of shapes. In fact, unless it be the lava about Etna, I never saw in any country such terrific masses of large stones. Snow-ploughs were lying at the side of the road; and here there is doubtless ample occasion for them during snowy weather. The women appear exceedingly good housewives of their time, for, like the Welsh, they employ themselves in knitting while walking, although proceeding to ever so short a distance.

After passing through several villages, we came first to Broby, beyond which the country is flat, but well cultivated; and afterwards to Pyttis, a considerable village, situate on a river of that name, which glides gently past it. There is one church, with a prodigiously lofty roof, quite out of proportion to the body of the building, covered with small pieces of wood, one overlapping the other, in imitation of slate. In the church-yard the graves are covered with a roof resting on piles of wood at each corner, within two feet of the ground, and between it and the latter are railings, so that they have a considerable resemblance to hen-coops. After leaving this place, the road wound among the rocks, and a charming valley came into view,

where were some houses painted of a claret colour, and one story in height. The juniper tree is here generally about twenty feet in height.

The river Aberfors, which divides Russian, from what was lately Swedish Finland, and which now burst into view, is of considerable breadth, and its banks are ornamented with spruce fir to their very edge, throwing a fine dark gloom on the glossy surface of the stream, while the scenery around is highly beautiful, and possesses great variety of character. Finland may, indeed, be well described as a country where—

> "Woods, hills, and valleys diffuse
> A lasting and sacred delight."

Many persons were occupied in chopping juniper trees into small pieces, which are afterwards thrown into heaps in the farm-yards, in order to be trodden under the feet of the cattle, so as to be mixed with their dung, for manure.

After travelling through the most romantic scenery that imagination can figure, we reached the post-house of Starby. Among the different amusements of the Finlanders, may be reckoned that of swinging. The machine used for this purpose, and which is to be seen in every village, consists of upright logs of wood placed ten feet distant from each other; and on the top of these is a cross bar, from which is suspended a square piece of wood, with a seat wide enough for two persons.

Around the fortress called Louisa is some beautiful scenery, with several windmills on an elevation close to, and looking down on the town. This fortification is situate on an arm of the Gulf, about the breadth of the Thames. Before entering the town we passed another square fortification of stone, built so as to command the road. The roofs of the houses are covered with green turf; and it was a singular sight to see some of the natives reposing among the grass on them, basking in the sun, and with as much delight and satisfaction as if they had been in an open field. The children are very beautiful, and have remarkably white hair; nor are the women less comely. Many of them were busily occupied with their needle and the distaff, within and without doors, and there was a peculiar modesty and calm demeanour about them, truly indicative of serenity and content.

"How bless'd the maid whose bosom
No headstrong passion knows!
Her days in joy she passes,
Her nights in calm repose."

Before the shops are lofty poles, twenty or thirty feet high, on which are suspended, by way of signs, figures of wood or tin, indicative of the trade carried on, or the articles sold; and when viewed from the end of a street, they present a very curious appearance.

A fine prospect is presented from the rocks hanging over the town, where the white chimneys, contrasted with the green "fields" on the summit of the houses, have a very pleasing effect.

We afterwards reached Perno, in the province of Nyland, whose situation is very picturesque. The islands in the Gulf, the numerous windmills in motion, and hills around, the church, and its antiquated wooden belfry detached, add to the interest of the picture.

Our driver was a humble Swedish son of Crispin, who had, some years before, gone to Russia; but being unsuccessful, he now was heartily glad to return to his native land; but he accomplished this with the utmost difficulty, being obliged to pass himself as an Englishman, which he was able to do as he had a smattering of the language. It is hardly necessary to add, that a foreigner, but more especially an artisan, experiences extreme difficulty in getting out of Russia, the government being anxious to keep as many of this class within the empire, as possible, especially in St. Petersburg.

At the post-houses, on what was formerly the Swedish side, are small pieces of black tin projecting from a high pole, with the representation of a white horse on one side, and three crowns on the other, with an uplifted arm and sword on

each. Great caution was observed to prevent accident, as in every part of the road where the slightest degree of danger was to be apprehended, were substantial wooden palings. Considering the advanced state of the season, it being now the month of October, it was surprising, in this latitude, to see the trees so remarkably green, and also to hear the delightful chorus of the feathered tribe.

Continuing our route along the same admirable line of road, we arrived at the post-house of Ilby, where was a board, on which was written not only the distances between the stations, but the prices of posting, which were sixty copecs a Finnish mile (equal to six of English measure). We found the same reduction of the money we had brought, the eighty copec pieces being now worth only seventy-five. At night-fall a great exhalation rose in the valleys, forming a complete optical deception. In some parts, at a distance, it resembled an extensive sea, and at others an expanse of smoke; and it bore a strong resemblance to the mirage I had observed in the deserts of Egypt, where birds, mistaking it for water, actually skim over it, which often prompted me to exclaim, —

> "Are ye fantastical, or that indeed
> Which outwardly ye show?"

At the inn of Borgo we were received by a gigantic landlady, who was all bustle, like Mrs. Cheshire in the play; and seemed resolved that every thing should be shown off to the best advantage, for she ordered six large candles to be set upon the table. A bountiful supper of game was set out, with an enormous crystal bottle of spirits.

We afterwards travelled along a pleasant country of hill and valley, adorned with wood, and a winding river, and reached Veckost, when the horses were brought from the stable in a moment. The mode of travelling here is generally in a humble vehicle kept at the post-houses, similar to a cart drawn by one horse, with a light chair in the centre, sometimes suspended on springs, at others fastened with ropes attached to a ring on each side.

A miserable sight was presented of the remains of a person who had forfeited his life to the laws of his country; yet—

"Such spectacles, though they are sad, are just."

A quarrel had taken place between him and his wife, whom he laid hold of while she was churning, and beat her so violently with the handle of the churn, as to occasion her death. Three gallows, or rather strong posts, twenty feet in height, were erected a short distance from each other. That in the centre had the form of a

wheel laid horizontally at top, with a ladder placed at the foot of it. The head of the criminal was first struck off, and fixed on the top of the wheel to the right, and the hand which directed the fatal blow on that to the left. In the centre was the body in its clothes, with the arms extended, and the legs hanging down. These dismal objects were fixed upon an elevation a short distance from the road, and the back was surrounded with dark wood, which threw a gloomy horror over the scene.* By a law of Finland,

* Places of execution out of a town, hanging in a cap with the arms bound, conveyance on a cart or sledge, and the claim of the executioner to the culprit's clothes, are of classical antiquity. Formerly the victims of the law were left hanging longer; a murderer being suspended even three days. Among the Romans an executioner was not permitted to reside in the town; a prohibition which still exists in Germany. In England, he formerly wore a white apron if he had beheaded a state criminal, and was vulgarly dubbed "Esquire" during the remainder of his life. The name of Jack Ketch was that of a practitioner whose wife declared that any bungler might put a man to death, but her husband alone knew how to make him die "sweetly." Exposure of the body reminds us of a positive law introduced under the Mosaic dispensation, prohibiting those of malefactors to "remain all night upon the tree; but thou shalt in anywise bury him that day, that thy land be not defiled," Deut. xxi. 23.

When Constantine abolished crucifixion, the Roman furca took the form of our gallows. In France it had either a single, double, or treble frame, denoting the rank of the territorial seigneur, whether gentleman, knight, or baron. The ancient gallows near London had hooks for eviscerating, quartering, &c. the bodies of criminals. In the fifteenth

still in force, although the country is under the dominion of Russia, the crime of murder is punished capitally. On sentence being pronounced, if the criminal be so disposed, he may appeal to a second tribunal, and should his sentence be confirmed, to the Emperor himself, whose decision is final. The only difference of punishment is in cases of parricide, when the arms and body of the miserable culprit undergo complete mutilation.

There are small houses scattered over the meadows, to afford shelter to cattle during the inclement season; which appear infinitely more substantial and comfortable than many of the cabins of the Irish peasantry.

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century the top was made to move up and down like the beam of a pair of scales. At one end hung a halter, and at the other a large weight. The halter was drawn down, and being put round the neck of the criminal, the weight of the other end lifted him from the ground. In illustration of the *distinction of ranks*, a curious circumstance occurred in the reign of James I., when Lord Sanquhar, who procured the murder of a fencing-master, was executed in Great Palace Yard. Two men, who committed the act, were also hanged in Fleet Street, and one of the gibbets was higher by the length of a man; one of these persons being a gentleman, and claiming the honour of such an elevation.

CHAP. VIII.

Paper-money. — Chaises.—Henricksdahl. — Helsingfors. — Fortress of Sveaborg. — Prisoners. — An extraordinary old maid. — Changing Russian for Swedish money. — Scene at an inn. — Scenery. — Honesty of the post-masters. — Beautiful country.— Arrival at Abo.

Paper-money, in this country, is preferred to the silver ruble: although the value of some was 100, yet they were refused to be taken for more than 60 copecs. Some of the one-horse chaises, kept by persons for their own travelling, are remarkably neat. They are hung low, and have long shafts: the body is open, and sufficiently long in front to admit of a person's stretching his limbs at full length; and it has also a leather apron, and a small pocket in the back, for a box, with nails, grease, &c. Behind is a small elevated seat of iron, with leather cushions, for a servant; beneath which is a portmanteau, and sufficient room for a trunk. On each side is a raised screen of iron, covered with leather, to protect the baggage from being sprayed with mud.

In this district the females are stout-made, good-looking, and with fair hair. The other sex allow their hair to grow so long and bushy, as

almost completely to cover the face, so that one would imagine that the use of scissors was quite unknown here. No symptoms of poverty were to be discovered among the peasantry, all being comfortably clothed; neither did we see any beggars on the road. The country, which is delightful, abounds with both birch and spruce fir; and many of the rocks are covered with white moss.

On changing horses at Henricksdahl, we stepped into the post-house, and found the kitchen crowded with peasants at dinner, who were devouring every thing within their reach with voracious appetites, while their long hair swept the plates. Some of the females had merely a shift and petticoat. The bread was in the shape of large round cakes; and enormous quantities of these were hanging from the ceiling, on sticks thrust through a hole in the centre of them.

Helsingfors came into view at the extremity of a very extensive valley; and we afterwards travelled along the side of the water, where the prospect was prodigiously grand, both the islands and the opposite shores being covered with wood; and we were quite in raptures with the delightful scenery. The mile-stones hereabouts are pieces of granite, in the form of a pyramid, three feet in height, and two in

breadth, set up on a pile of stones; and the letters on them are gilt.

Helsingfors, a seaport, founded by Gustavus I., may be considered as the chief town in the province of Nyland. It is entirely built among rocks, which are highly picturesque: many of the houses are constructed of wood, in the old Finnish mode; and the streets are narrow. From the number of new buildings in progress, quite on the Russian plan, (consisting of two or three stories, of stone, or of brick, coated with plaster, and roofs of sheet-iron, painted brown or green,) all traces of a Finnish town will soon disappear, and St. Petersburg will be represented here in miniature. The town was once totally destroyed by fire. The population is 9000, exclusive of the military. The building containing the senate-house, and other public offices, is a noble edifice, with Ionic columns, and is situated in a square that has been lately formed. In the interior court is a large hall, with an arched roof, where the senators sit daily, from nine to twelve o'clock. There was a table, covered with scarlet cloth, surrounded by eighteen gilded chairs, that of the president at the top: likewise a throne and canopy, with an elegant chair set apart for the Emperor, which is the one in which Alexander was crowned at Moscow. The expence of building this edifice was 1,000,000 rubles; and its unne-

cessary magnitude has been the cause of much discontent. In another part of the square stands the governor's residence; and opposite to it is a guard-house.

The harbour is of great breadth, and said to be the best on the Baltic coast; and it is proposed to adorn it with trees and walks. The judges are elected for three years, and have salaries of 2000 rubles. That of the governor is 10,000; of the principal secretary, 1500; and of the subordinate secretaries, from 400 to 900 rubles.

There are three hospitals here, which are wooden buildings, situated upon an elevation a short distance from the town. A few good shops are to be seen; but there is no theatre. Under the present government, the taxes amount to one fourth more than when the place was subject to the dominion of the Swedes. Robberies are not frequent; and when they do occur, are almost always committed by Russian deserters, the Finns being in general distinguished for their moral and religious principles. The Russians are extremely disliked in this place, although the late Emperor was popular. The natives rarely attain four-score years, which are here considered as an extraordinary great age. The deaths of children chiefly arise from the effects of small-pox, there being a great prejudice, on the part of the Finns, against vaccination. It

sometimes occurs that the natives are seized with a pungent pain in the hand or face, which frequently proves fatal. This is more frequently the case in marshy plains, during the autumnal months; and it has been discovered, by medical men, that it is occasioned by a worm that penetrates into the flesh, and which has been denominated the *furia infernalis*.

Its vicinity to the important fortress of Sveaborg, which was once the principal bulwark of Finland, will always render Helsingforth a place of note. This fort was most treacherously and infamously given up to the Russians in 1808, otherwise no force brought against it could have possibly wrested it from the Swedes; and if it is not entitled to be ranked as the very first, it may perhaps be considered as inferior to no other fortress in the world. Being anxious to visit it, we sent a note to the governor, and, contrary to our expectations, — for there is always a certain degree of jealousy of strangers on the part of those who hold a command in such fortifications, — we were waited upon by Graf Erfelt, a young Swedish colonel in the Russian service, and aide-de-camp to the governor. This gentleman spoke English fluently, having resided at one time in Edinburgh; and he mentioned in most flattering terms the civilities he experienced in that city. He informed us he had directions from the governor to accompany us over the whole place the next day.

At the appointed time, we were conducted by him to the harbour, where an elegant barge belonging to the governor, with a green awning, and rowed by twelve sailors dressed in white trowsers, striped jackets and caps, was in waiting. The boat was rowed two miles across the harbour to an island on the opposite side, the situation of which reminded me of Port St. Mary, near Cadiz. On our arrival, we were met by several officers, and conducted over the fortress, where, most formidable as all around appeared, many persons were actively engaged in adding still further to the strength of the place. Not only did the hurry with which we were led from one part to another allow too little time for observation, and preclude the possibility of taking notes, but even the attempt to do so might have excited suspicion, and have been attended with some unpleasant circumstances. I can therefore only say, that both from its situation and natural strength, and the peculiar manner in which it has been fortified, this fortress appears to be altogether impregnable. This spot, which may be considered the key of Finland, as much as Malta is that of the Mediterranean, is situated on seven islands, composed entirely of rocks connected together by bridges of boats, and covered with houses, docks, barracks, hospitals, prisons, so that, in fact, it appears to be a cluster of small towns. The whole exhibits a most

wonderful proof of the genius and activity which distinguished those who were employed in improving the advantages that nature had bestowed, by forming such tremendous bulwarks for the defence of the country. The greatest danger to be apprehended is from an enemy's vessel attempting to enter the place by sea, through a narrow channel over which the rocks hang. Supposing, however, a passage was effected through this strait, the vessels would have afterwards to encounter concealed batteries, and thus it would be altogether doubtful if they could possibly penetrate to Helsingfors. In one place is a flight of steps leading to the water, which were made for the accommodation of the Emperor when he paid a visit here. The entrance from these up to the fortress is so contrived that only one person can pass at a time. There are a number of large docks for ships of war, and fortifications meet the eye in all directions. On some of the latter are mounted 1000 pieces of cannon, but their carriages are laid up against any emergency.

In one corner is a place for the confinement of prisoners, of whom there were at this time about 500, many of them youths, confined on suspicion of being guilty of murder. They were said to be Finns; yet we could hardly give credit to this, as their physiognomy did not bear the slightest resemblance to that race. Some of these culprits

made their appearance, clanking their chains, half naked, ghastly as spectres, and in a state of the utmost wretchedness. It was altogether appalling to find so many human beings huddled together like sheep for sale, penned up in such small places, and indulging in tumult, boisterous and disorderly conduct, &c. without any proper place provided for them, where they might be classed, arranged, and kept to useful employment. The hovel in which they were crowded was altogether disgusting, being abominably dirty; and the stench was so intolerable, that it seemed calculated to engender disease and the most pernicious infection. We took the liberty of remonstrating with the officers, and contrasted the filth and wretchedness here with that order, cleanliness, and classification which so much distinguish places of confinement in England. It is assuredly incumbent on the Russian government to separate the prisoners into classes, and to attend to their moral improvement. All correspondence ought to be cut off between them, each should have a separate sleeping-room, and another where they might be employed in different tasks, be under the surveillance of a respectable officer, and support themselves by their earnings, according to the excellent mode adopted in America; they should also be allowed a proportion of what their exertions yield.—It may, however, be remarked, that a priest visits them once a week.

At one time there was established in this fort-

ress, when it was under the Swedes, a place set apart as a school for the instruction of Finns in naval tactics. The plan of protecting these islands by fortifications was suggested in 1748, when 20,000*l.* sterling was expended on these stupendous works. On an elevation in the centre of a square stands a monument erected to the memory of Marshal Augustin Ehrensvard, who constructed the principal part of these formidable bulwarks. The pedestal, which is of granite, is surmounted by a military helmet of brass, with a shield and coronet; and on each side is an inscription: "Despotism and ambition will always be found to pant for aggression."* Finland was invaded by a force of 60,000 Russians, who were opposed by 15,000 Finns; and notwithstanding that this fortress was garrisoned by 1000 men, and there was abundance of powder and shot, it was sold, or basely given up, by the treachery of Count de Cronstedt, the commander, an act for which his name deserves to be branded in the page of history with the greatest infamy.† No difficulty existed as to retaining

* This monument bears some resemblance to that of Moreau on the heights of Dresden, where he fell at the side of Alexander, from the first shot directed by the French.

† Although the power acquired by Russia, in consequence of the villany of this traitor to his country, was so great, yet, as a proof that crime generally meets with some punishment, it is understood that his presence was dispensed with in the capital; and this miserable being now lives in a retired spot of the empire on the pension that was the price of his baseness.

this place; and it is a fact that one of the officers under his command declared he could, with even ten men, have held out a five weeks' siege.

After viewing all the fortifications and the harbour, which is capable of containing upwards of 100 sail of the line, filled with astonishment at the incredible magnitude and extent of the works, where nature seems to have co-operated with the exertions of man, we returned to Helsingfors; and afterwards expressed, in a letter, our acknowledgments to the governor.

The inn, which was tolerable, was kept by a dame of Patagonian stature, and with cheeks so bedaubed with rouge*, that she might have been considered a tolerable personification of the scarlet lady of Babylon; or, at least, she amply deserved the Russian compliment of *krasnaia dæva*, (handsome, or literally, red maiden,) for her complexion was so fiery that it would have eclipsed even the ignited proboscis of Bardolph himself. It would seem that this damsel was not yet tired of a life of celibacy, although she had sixty years "on her back." But time could not be said to have thinned or silvered over her hair, for it was very thick and black; nor was she a little proud of it, for she wore nothing to

* I never see the face of a female bedaubed with paint, a practice so destructive to health, without recollecting the reply of a celebrated artist, who refused to draw the picture thus masked, observing that he never copied any person's works but those of the Almighty.

conceal any portion of it; therefore she, at least, could not be said to "set her cap" at any one. On this occasion the dame certainly showed the most *striking* proofs of a hearty welcome, as she saluted me with a smart slap on the shoulder on entering the room. Having thus "shown up" this fair landlady, it may be mentioned that the charge for an apartment was six rubles; for dinners, with excellent wine, one and a half; brandy, five; and coniac, six rubles per bottle. As travellers are under the necessity of changing Russian for Swedish money here, they ought to be on their guard, and take care not to send their servants on such a negotiation, since they are liable to be imposed upon, as proved to be our case. We directed our servant, on whose honesty we had the fullest reliance, to take a number of rubles to a shopkeeper for this purpose, having first accurately counted them over. He applied to a Russian, who appeared as expert in deception as any of his countrymen in the bazars of Moscow, and who pretended that there were several rubles less than the number mentioned, and exchanged them for Swedish money according to his own mode of calculation; nor could we obtain the least redress.

On quitting Helsingfors, we paid nine rubles sixty copecs for twenty versts; that is to say, double, as usual, from town; and proceeded in the direction of Bomboli, where we arrived just

at the time an assemblage of peasants had sat down to supper after the labours of the field. Never was there such an exhibition! A more capital group could not possibly have been presented for the pencil of our Wilkie, or that of Cruikshanks.* A long piece of burning lath stuck into the wall, served as a candle, and when it burned out was replaced by another.† This glimmering light, with the crowded table, smoke from the hot victuals, and the competition of spoons in one dish, scrambling for the best supply of what it contained; the sparkling eyes seen through half darkness, the bushy locks hanging about the dishes, the yawning of the peasants from fatigue, the crowing of a cock perched over their heads, the snoring in chorus of an old couple lolling one in each corner of the fire-place, the hissing of a piece of meat in a frying-pan, superintended by an urchin, half roasted himself by the heat; with the bellowing of cattle out of doors, the rain rattling against the windows, and in addition, the screaming of a

* There were thirteen guests at table; but this ominous number did not seem to be regarded by them. This allusion to a superstitious fancy reminds me of a repartee once made by a person who, at a joyous dinner-party, very unseasonably observed, with a grave face, that their company consisted of thirteen. "That is exceedingly unfortunate, indeed," replied a wag; "because it is a sign there is a fool too many."

† Splinters of wood for light were used at one period in England; and candles were considered to be a luxury in 1293.

child in a cradle, and the growling of a mastiff under the table, who was affronted at not having come in for his portion of scraps, formed altogether such a combination of sounds and objects that it is extremely difficult to decide whether the preference should be given to the music, the scenery, or the characters.

On resuming our route, we travelled through many fine, well-cultivated valleys, with spring crops, remarkably green, and diversified with many murmuring streams. There were, also, several villages, and churches with extraordinarily high roofs, and mills for sawing wood into planks. The cedar, as well as the juniper tree, contributed to the embellishment of the landscape; nor were the inhabitants less cheerful than the country itself, for the countenance of every one we met beamed with satisfaction. At one spot we had a delightful prospect of a vast sheet of water, scattered over with islands clothed with wood. After passing through Kuiss, we changed horses at Bollstod, which is situated on a height looking down upon a lake. The road led partly along an open country, and through a wood of beautiful tall spruce firs. The fences were in the highest order, and rarely are these to be seen for so long a distance in any district. The peasants are obliged to keep the roads contiguous to their farms in repair. After passing a lake beyond Kyrckstad, the road proceeded through

a wood of spruce and Scotch fir; and its sides were covered with moss and wild roses, the latter of which we here found for the first time in Finland. In this quarter hardy females are to be seen occupied in driving carts, and many of them wear veils over their faces, like those worn by the inmates of a monastery.

On reaching Ominia, we proceeded along its banks for some distance. This river winds along lazily, till it loses itself in an extensive lake, near which we stopped at the post-house of Bijorsby. The gratitude on the part of the landlady, on our paying the bill for lodging and breakfast, was such, that she actually laid hold of our arms and kissed them most cordially, a tolerable proof that travellers were rarities to her. Two circumstances struck us forcibly in travelling through Finland; namely, that no military were to be seen in any of the villages, and also that there were hardly any indications of poverty among the peasantry, all being well clothed. Both these circumstances speak much in favour of the national character; and it may also be added, by way of contrast to what we experienced in the Russian dominions, that no attempt was made by the post-masters to impose upon us, by representing the distance we had to go greater than it really was, and charging accordingly. This, however, may arise not altogether from sterling

principles of honesty, but from their being aware that any deceit of the kind must be detected, as the number of miles between the stations are marked, and fines are imposed in case of fraud; so that a traveller cannot be cheated with his eyes open without knowing it, and having his remedy accordingly. The remarkable expedition, likewise, with which, in consequence of the salutary regulations of the "dag" book, the horses are exchanged, is often equal to that which takes place in our English mails, and is certainly a great advantage to the traveller. The road now led through an open country, with hills on each side, and scattered hamlets at a distance, and some churches built of stone, with their belfries detached. The views in this part were delightfully romantic and varied, and the whole landscape one of the finest we had ever beheld. Dead must be the heart of that man who travels along insensible of the beauties of nature: every thing is expressive of gladness and joy; the perfume of flowers, the harmony of the feathered tribe, the gentle breeze, the flocks browzing, and winged insects sporting in the rays of a glorious sun; — moreover, the majestic woods, meandering streams, the silver waves of rivers, and verdure of the fields. Who can be indifferent, we ask, to her wonderful works? All that he sees around ought to prompt him, not only to admire the goodness of a bountiful

Creator, who merely "spoke, and it was done," but reflect on the greatness of His wisdom.

We afterwards proceeded along the side of a rocky mountain covered with wood, to which succeeded well-cultivated valleys, extensive sheets of water, clusters of cottages, with meadows covered with flocks and shepherds, and numbers of windmills in full motion on a height. These mills are remarkably narrow, and resemble in shape a huge sentry-box. We next arrived at Sahlo, which is situated in an amphitheatre, surrounded by rocks in an undulating form; and proceeding along this extensive amphitheatre, which has a lake in front, we passed through a delightful woody country, until, after a drive along a most noble avenue, we reached Handala, which commands a most enchanting view of a fertile vale beneath, fringed with wood.

At Rungo a deluge of rain set in, and at last we arrived at Abo, thus having travelled 340 versts from Viborg.

CHAP. IX.

Abo. — Cathedral. — Tombs. — University. — Library. — Clergy. — Military hospital. — Prisons. — Mineral spring. — Magnificent inn. — Conflagration in 1827. *— Popular antipathy to Russia. — Departure from Abo by sea. — Passage to Stockholm.*

As Viborg is denominated the capital of Russian, so is Abo that of Swedish Finland. It is situated between the Gulf of Bothnia, and that of Finland; and previously to the period of its passing into the hands of Russia, was ranked as the eighth town that was entitled to vote in the diet or parliament, while, in point of size, it was considered to be the fourth in Sweden, having 12,000 inhabitants. The site is beautiful, it being partly built on an elevation between mountains, and divided by the river Aurojoke. Some of the streets are a mile in length, and tolerably wide, but without foot-paths. The houses, which amount to 1100, are chiefly built of wood, painted, and covered with turf. A few are built of stone, or of brick covered with plaster, and painted red or yellow. Each householder is obliged to light a lamp, keep it in repair, and clean the street opposite to his house. The shops make no show, and many of them are in court-

yards, quite shut out from view; in some, however, are to be found French and English goods. There are a town-house, courts of law, and custom-house. Across the river, which is 156 feet in breadth, is a bridge, where vessels from Sweden are moored on the right side, opposite which are some pleasure-houses: — about one hundred Swedish vessels arrive here yearly. On the highest rock, which bears some general similarity to the Calton-hill at Edinburgh, is a handsome observatory, with towers, and a statue on the summit. From this eminence a beautiful prospect is presented, not only of the town on each side of the banks of the river, and its serpentine stream, but of the country around, which is enlivened by the numerous windmills on the opposite heights; and, except it be at Lisle in Flanders, I have nowhere seen so many in one spot. The cathedral, which is supposed to be the oldest church in Finland, was built in 1300, and ranks next to Upsala in Sweden in point of antiquity.

> "Hail, ye bold turrets, and thou reverend pile,
> That seem in age's hoary rest to smile;
> All hail! for here creative fancy reads
> Of ages past the long-forgotten deeds."

This edifice is built of brick, in the Gothic style, with a roof of sheet-iron, and at different periods has suffered from the effects of lightning.

Little attention, at least externally, is perceptible in keeping it in proper repair, but the interior is remarkably neat, and a peculiar grandeur and solemnity reign throughout the whole. Its length is about 150 feet, breadth 80, it is upwards of 100 feet in height, and on each side supported by nine columns. There are two aisles, in which are recesses with windows, that appear to have been used as chapels during the period of Catholicism. At present these are occupied by the tombs of families of distinction; one of which is to the memory of a daughter of Catherine and Erick XIV. In viewing so many costly monuments that adorn cathedrals, with their pompous epitaphs, dedicated to the memory of the rich and great, how strong do we find the desire of retaining, even after death, that pre-eminence which was enjoyed through life, of perpetuating pride, and ostentation, and blazoning human grandeur. These are, indeed, but empty names; for —

"Earth's highest station ends in 'here he lies;'
And 'dust to dust' concludes her noblest song."

To return from this digression: in the centre of the church are benches for the accommodation of the poor. At one end is a gallery, with a fine organ, presented to this church in 1765, by Mr. Wittforth, of whom there is a full-length portrait, with an inscription.

Under it is a baptismal font, with an angel holding a shell: this figure is of wood, and has a massy canopy over it. The altar has a painting of the Last Supper, surmounted by one of the Crucifixion; and the pulpit, which is very handsome, is of black and white carved work, with the twelve apostles and Christ in the centre; its roof is also supported by two angels. Among the portraits of ecclesiastics are those of Luther and Melancthon. Service is first performed, on Sundays, at seven o'clock in the morning in the Finnish language, and again at ten in Swedish. In the afternoon, the former commences at one, and the latter at half past two o'clock. The clergy are paid partly by government, and the contributions of the congregation; which latter vary according to the popularity of the preachers. The sacristy has a large door of iron, with a pulpit and benches on each side; adjoining this is a dark room with two iron doors, where are a number of images and ornaments, which were used during Catholicism. Here are several large chests with the records of the church, and the head and bones of a bishop are preserved in an antique wooden case. There are likewise a number of crowns which were formerly used at marriages, and placed on the heads of the bride and bridegroom. Some of these are of

gilt tin, others formed of flowers. Perhaps this practice may have some reference to that part of the Song of the wise king, where it is said, "Behold Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart;"* and it naturally brings to mind the words of the prophet, in his description of the happiness of Israel on returning to their own land, where he says, they shall come "with everlasting joy on their heads."† In this church the principal monuments that attract attention, which are much after the form of those antique ones we meet with in our own churches, are those of Erick XIV. and of his and Catherine's daughter, married to Baron Tott; both of white marble. Erick is represented in armour, with an iron cap laid at his feet; and Catherine in a suppliant attitude, with clasped hands: there is a long inscription, with the date MDXCVIII. with the double arms above it. On a pedestal is a box of copper secured to the wall by a chain, where were once deposited several documents relative to the family, their genealogy, interment, &c.; but a maniac broke it open, and ran off with them. They were, however, afterwards discovered. In another recess stands a monument to a military hero,

* Song of Sol. iii. 11. † Isa. xxxv. 10.

Samuel Cockburn, who, according to the inscription, was a Scotchman, and died at the age of forty-seven, in 1621. His effigy, which is of stone, is clad in armour, and is placed on a pedestal, much shattered, both that and the coffin having been broken open, and the bones scattered about. His armour, which is of great weight, is shown in the sacristy. There is likewise a fine marble monument erected to General Stolhuskie, whose effigy is surrounded by family portraits on canvass, and various armorial bearings.

At Abo no persons are permitted to beg in the streets, poor-rates being levied according to rates made annually by a committee of the inhabitants. *

The university was founded in 1640, by Queen Christina, and endowed with privileges similar to that of Upsala. The building, which stands opposite to the Cathedral, was greatly improved

* The theory of pauperism seems as yet to be imperfectly understood, and its proximate or remote causes, together with the most efficient means of preventing such a pressure of physical and moral evil, never yet satisfactorily developed by any writers on political economy. That some must be poorer than others, is one of the constituent laws of all human society; yet it is not so evident that a certain portion of our species should be subjected to actual suffering and want, and that, too, even in the most affluent and prosperous states. I speak not here of those individual cases of poverty which arise from infirmity, accident, or imprudence, but of that enormous mass of pauperism, which, though it may be partially relieved by legislative provisions, has never yet been effectively attempted to be checked in its birth.

by Gustavus Adolphus IV., and has this inscription in front: —

"FINNICIS MUSIS
MUNIFICENTIA
AUGUSTORUM."

And behind is another inscription —

"PRIMUS LAPIS POSITUS MDCCCII,
ULTIMUS M.DCCCXV."

There is a grand hall, 70 feet in length and 61 in breadth, which is used on extraordinary occasions, such as at the time of royal visits. At one end, in an alcove or semicircular recess, 15 feet in depth, is a bust of the emperor Alexander in bronze, on a high pedestal of polished granite, with an inscription in gold letters. There are four beautiful polished granite columns, 80 feet in height, on each side. On the walls are various emblematical devices in stucco; one of which represents Gustavus and his queen laying the foundation of this edifice; on which occasion the Duke of Gloucester was present. The music-gallery over the recess has a gilded railing.

There are 500 students in this seminary, to whom lectures are given gratis, government paying all expences. Part of the revenue in support of the establishment is derived from land, the rest from a duty on exports from the town. Although there is a theatre, which rarely occurs in universities, all representations are prohibited during

term; yet the Russian military are allowed to remain in the town, which never occurred when it belonged to Sweden. This has given great offence to the inhabitants, and most deservedly, since such amusements are calculated to divert the attention of the scholars from their studies. The botanical garden contains some thousands of exotics and indigenous plants. During the government of the Swedes, the School of Anatomy had the extraordinary privilege of demanding the dead bodies of those who held lands or pensions from the crown; but it is believed the Russians will take care that a law of this nature shall not extend to them. We were shown the Library, consisting of three handsome apartments; in the principal one of which is a marble bust, on a pedestal of granite, of M. Porthou, Professor of Eloquence, whose memory is here held in the highest veneration. This Library may be considered in its infancy, although it contains 40,000 volumes. A copy of each book published in Finland must be presented to it; but few are to be seen in this remote region. In glancing at the books, the most ancient of those pointed out to us were some writings of Hieronymus, in 1468; a Latin Bible of 1479; a collection of works on jurisprudence, by the celebrated Professor Chaubold of Leipsic. We were shown some English books; such as the "Archæologia," by the Society of Antiquarians; Dugald Stewart's

Elements of Philosophy; Black's Chemistry; Byron's Voyages, &c. Among the manuscripts is one of the History of Job, in thirty-five books, 1268.

There are in Finland two high ecclesiastical dignitaries; one of these is the archbishop of Abo, who resides here, with a revenue of about 12,000 rubles; and the other a bishop, who lives in the interior. There are also a High Court of Justice, a Bible Society*, and a collection of models of agricultural implements and machines. On the banks of the river, a short distance from the town, is a military hospital, near which stands a castle of a triangular form, surrounded by water. This was formerly a fortress and palace, the residence of the Swedish sovereigns, and where Erick XIV. was for some time kept prisoner. We saw 100 criminals here, 50 of whom were females. The males were most heavily loaded with irons round the neck, body, hands, and legs; in fact, cased in them, like persons who are hung in chains; and all were crowded into small apartments. They receive an allowance of 25 copecs a day, which exceeds the pay of a soldier; but it would surely be in every respect better were they, as in the United States, compelled to labour for their own support; by which

* This institution, which is connected with the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, was founded in 1812, and has issued 22,000 copies of the Scriptures.

means they would be kept in active employment, and the state relieved from an onerous tax. There is another prison in the town, called the Spinhouse, which is exclusively for women, who are there confined to labour; and should their earnings exceed what is necessary for their subsistence, they receive the overplus. This is quite proper; and we may ask why the first-mentioned criminals are not put on a similar footing?

Three newspapers are published on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In some parts of this country where cattle happen to die, Laplanders are employed to flay them; that being an office most revolting to the feelings of the natives. A good house, with a court-yard and stables, may be had for 1000 rubles yearly.* A mineral spring is in the neighbourhood, which is annually resorted to by what may be considered a tolerable number of visitors, there being generally about 400 in the course of the season. An artificial spring has lately been established at Carlsbad, and patronised by government, and a steam-boat passes between Abo and Stockholm. On the quay is a substantial inn, built by subscription, but on a scale too large and magnificent for such a town,

* The lower orders subsist chiefly on salt fish, potatoes, and sometimes smoked beef and pork. Beef is four skillings, (nearly 2*d.*), and pork one skilling per lb. Labourers receive from 24 to 30 skillings daily. Four fairs are held yearly. There is a consul for England.

and contains a ball-room, 143 feet long, by 60 broad, with a music-gallery, and seven lustres.*

* Since the above was written a most terrible event has occurred at Abo. On the 4th of September, 1827, at nine o'clock in the evening, it was visited by a most awful conflagration, which, after raging twenty-four hours, ended with the almost total destruction of the town. The fire broke out in the premises of a tallow-chandler, who, to escape the penalty attached to carrying on such a business within the town, endeavoured to conceal the accident as long as possible; but the devouring element spread with such rapidity in three directions, that its ravages soon became universal. The cathedral, which had so long braved the hand of time, together with the archives of the consistory, and all the buildings of the university, were destroyed; and the scholar and the antiquarian will deeply lament the destruction of the library and cabinet of medals. The custom-house, court of justice, collection of instruments, town-hall, printing-offices, and about 1000 houses, fell also a prey to the flames. Only thirty houses escaped, and 11,000 families were literally burned out and lost their all. To add to this overwhelming calamity, upwards of 100 human beings perished. Little did I imagine when I commenced the preceding account of Abo, that I should have to conclude with recording so dreadful a catastrophe. In addition to this, the religious world will regret to learn that all the Bibles and Testaments of the Bible Society, with the standing types for an octavo Bible in the Finnish language, and stereotype plates for a New Testament, fell a sacrifice to the flames; and the loss thus occasioned has amounted to upwards of 70,000 rubles. The Society of London have already generously made a grant of Swedish Testaments, and are making preparations to print an edition of the Finnish Testament for the general benefit of Finland. A second fire broke out in December, about three months after, which has reduced the remainder of this ill-fated town to ashes. There have been other very serious conflagrations also in Sweden and Norway;

During the whole of our journey, it was a subject of heartfelt regret to us that this fine country should have been added to the before enormous territory of Russia. Its invasion by the latter power was most unjustifiable, and the poor Finns were transferred to their new masters, without the least show of reason. Russia, in fact, seems to be grasping at the acquisition of fresh dominion far more ambitiously than prudently; for what is apparently gained in extent, with respect to physical force, is lost as to moral energy; and a power that could subjugate the globe*, would have nearly as many rivals and enemies as it had dependant states. But let Russia never lose sight of one fact; that although it has obtained possession of Finland,

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and these, indeed, arise almost every month. Last year a fire broke out in the parish of Grul, in the district of Hedermark, in the latter country, where a church was destroyed, and 100 persons perished in the flames. The town of Uleaborg, in Finland, was also reduced to ashes, and 400 inhabitants left without food or shelter.

The frequency of these dreadful occurrences suggest two things: that salt should be mixed with water and thrown on burning materials, which would be doubly efficacious in extinguishing flame — as cooks salt ignited coals to abate flame; secondly, to prevent suffocation from smoke in case of fire, the face should be kept near the floor, as smoke does not descend till the room is filled.

* The whole population of Russia, Poland, and Finland, amount to 53,768,000 persons, and in the former is supposed to increase annually.

never will she be able to acquire the affection of the natives, who are still, and ever will continue to be, attached to Sweden, which they regard with the feelings of one separated by force from a relation or friend. In seizing on this country, she stripped Sweden of a most invaluable possession; and, it is to be feared, that popular hatred will break out, sooner or later, like a volcano. It was easy to perceive that the Finns entertain a decided hatred against the Russians, and look on them as enemies; and although their language is cautious, yet their enmity and wrath are treasured up against the day when they may display them. In appearance in dress, in simplicity of manners, in their habits and dispositions, the natives are altogether opposite to the Russians. Much has been said of the ambition of Napoleon, whose object was universal empire; but the same charge may be alleged against Russia, since extension of territory seems to be her grand object.

As it was our intention now to proceed to Stockholm, it was necessary to procure new passports from the Swedish consul for ourselves and two servants, since the former only authorised us to proceed to Abo. The domestic we engaged at Hamburgh still continued with us; the other was the shoemaker, who was useful as an interpreter. This poor fellow was thrown into a state of absolute terror, when he discovered

here that he would be prevented from proceeding to his native town, Stockholm. Fortunately we got his name included in our passport with the other servant; and having agreed to continue his wages, took him on board a Swedish sloop. Crispin showed himself to the captain, represented his peculiar situation, and in consequence of a friendly hint that was given him, crept into a barrel, and concealed himself from the Russian custom-house officers until the vessel sailed. We engaged the whole cabin at 100 rix dollars, equivalent to *5l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* Here we found three mattresses, but not a single article of bedding besides, and on these we reposed in our clothes. This bark was literally crammed with passengers; among whom were some strolling players, stowed together like slaves for sale. We had occasion to congratulate ourselves so far, in having secured the best birth, though we were most sadly annoyed by persons cooking close to the door, by the smell of victuals and smoke, the rattling of plates, knifes and forks, the Babel confusion of tongues, and bickerings that were kept up among them. After being detained on board four days beyond the time fixed for sailing, we proceeded about nine miles down the river, where the views on each side were pleasant; but we were compelled to cast anchor in consequence of contrary winds, and forced to

remain two days more. Those who are anxious to proceed on a voyage, and have found themselves wind-bound on the approach of winter, may form some idea of our disagreeable situation during these six days.

On setting sail, after proceeding a couple of miles, we dropped anchor again, and then once more set forward, and came to some islands which were covered with wood. We were now warned of the departure of autumn: — nature appeared languid and at rest, throwing off its vivid colours, and "leafy honours" were dropping, "flowers fading like the pleasures of this world," the feathered tribe change their clear and sprightly notes to those plaintive and melancholy, and the sky assuming a different aspect and a chilling cold. A steam-boat now passed from the Swedish capital; and it was tantalizing to compare her velocity with our tardy rocking motion. Towards evening a tremendous tempest set in, threatening our destruction. There is always something appalling in a wandering bark, tossed to and fro on the wide and desert ocean; but it is worse when she is perilously groping her way among numerous rocks and islands, where no human power can render assistance, and where she is threatened every moment to be dashed in atoms; when all the horrors attending shipwreck are apprehended, and her passengers in utter despair, conceive

themselves to be on the verge of an eternal world. These are, indeed, —

> " Moments when the heart is tried,
> And feels a solemn reverential fear."

All the following day we were detained among clusters of islands, where, in many places, the passage was so extremely narrow, and the navigation so intricate and perilous from the numerous rocks, that it required a person, not only an expert pilot, but one who had a thorough knowledge of the place, to bring a vessel through of any burden; in short, it afterwards appeared an absolute miracle that we escaped in safety. We found we had not made more than about forty knots from Abo; and at night anchored for shelter under one of the islands, where we went off in search of bread and milk, and found the inhabitants extremely kind and ready to oblige us. The next day was passed in nearly the same manner; but on the succeeding one the weather became most remarkably warm, attended with gentle rain, and the thermometer stood at 61° Fahrenheit. The extraordinary group on board continued to regale themselves, not in the least disconcerted by the tedious passage; but, on the contrary, they appeared to be gratified with a long sail for the fare they had paid, and to be in no hurry for the termination of their voyage.

At Waxholm, near the mouth of the river, or rather an arm of the Baltic, we sailed up to Stockholm, enchanted with the prospects on each side, and cast anchor at Blockhusud.

Next morning, at five o'clock, the douaniers paid us a visit, and scrutinized our baggage most narrowly. A few hours afterwards we arrived opposite the noble palace, but could not land till we had submitted to another search; nor was it till the following day that we were released from our captivity, after a week's passage from Abo, which might have been accomplished by steam in twenty-four hours. Our carriage was now valued, and 20 rix dollars duty exacted on it, under an assurance it would be repaid on our finally quitting Sweden. It may be almost unnecessary to add, that our Swedish servant was in a state of ecstasy on setting foot on his native land, where, from some knowledge of it, I may in truth declare, that every one is

> "Free as the air that blows
> On flowery heath or mountain rose."

CHAP. X.

Lord Bloomfield. — Departure from Stockholm. — Route to Gripsholm. — Castle of Gripsholm. — Portraits. — Nykoping. — Norkoping. — Carlscrona. — Lakes, docks, and harbour. — Naval models. — Road to Christianstad. — Christianstad. — Province of Sconia. — Disgusting filthiness of the peasantry. — Aby. — Military encampment. — Travelling expences, &c. — Arrival at Copenhagen. — Fête. — Count Schimmelmann.

HAVING formerly given a minute description of the city of Stockholm *, it will be unnecessary to enter into a recapitulation of that narrative. It may, however, be noticed here, that the Bible Society of Sweden, instituted in 1814, has, in connection with that Society in London, the glory of our land, circulated 240,405 copies of the Scriptures; and in Norway, a Society instituted two years after, has issued 16,000 copies.

On landing I hastened to pay my respects to our minister, Lord Bloomfield, from whom I met with that courteous attention and hospitality which have obtained for him the grateful regards of travellers; and with the exception of Sir Robert Liston, who was at one period in a diplomatic situation at this court, no English minister

* See the author's Travels in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

has been so deservedly popular among the Swedes.

His Lordship having politely suggested Schultze, his courier, who spoke the English language, as a very serviceable person to accompany us, we accordingly engaged him. Soon after we set out, and encountered a violent snow storm. The country was hilly, roads heavy, and the horses weak. We passed several fine lakes, and arrived at the large post-house of Fetzer, beautifully situated on Lake Albi, surrounded by rocks covered with wood; and notwithstanding the lateness of the season, the trees were still quite green and leafy, gladdening the eye of the winter traveller. We next passed along a bridge of granite, which has an inscription, showing that it was erected in 1813, by the Bank of Sweden. On one side of the road here, in different places, were boxes to receive donations for the poor. We afterwards met the retinue of the Crown Prince Oscar, on his return from the Norwegian dominions, whither he had been on a visit. Further on we beheld an extensive lake, with a church on the edge of it; the whole enveloped in dark wood; and a number of wild-fowl were sailing along the glossy bosom of its waters. After passing a draw-bridge over a canal that is connected with the celebrated Lake Malar, we arrived at Soderlitza, a small village situated in a valley, surrounded by hills ornamented with wood. Pur-

suing our route through Lagstad, we directed our course towards the castle of Gripsholm, which we intended to examine as an object worthy of the attention of travellers, from its celebrity both in the history of preceding ages and our own. This place, which was originally a monastery, is situated on a small island in Lake Malar, overlooking it and the contiguous village, and is a most formidable pile of building, in the Gothic style, with round towers and walls, those symbols of captivity, — and is painted to resemble brick. On entering the court, the first objects which caught our eye were two formidable field-pieces. In the first apartment into which we were shown are a variety of pictures, and among them are several portraits of the family of Mecklenburg. This room led to a circular hall, where are eighty-two pictures. On a table in the centre were a number of handsomely-bound books; one of which was an album, having on the title-page these words, "Those who desire to see Gripsholm, memorable in Swedish history, are requested to write their names in this book." Among the signatures, which were numerous, the first on the list were those of "Charles Jean," the present king; his consort, "Eugenie Désirée," Princess Oscar, Eugenie Josephine, and her husband, Prince "J. F. Oscar." The portraits in the various apartments are exceedingly numerous, and of per-

sonages whose histories would form a most copious and interesting biographical gallery. Those which most engaged our attention were the following: — Philip II. of Spain on horseback; the first king of Sweden; Anne, Princess of Denmark, Queen of England, 1698; the queen of James I.; Anne Boleyn; Elizabeth, Queen of England — an excellent likeness; a full-length of George I., George II., and Anne, daughter of James II.; Marie Antoinette; Duchess of Angoulême; and the Dauphin; Charles XII.; Gustavus Adolphus; Joan of Arc; the Duke of Vendôme, and Louis XV. There were also many portraits of the Danish sovereigns, and of members of their family.

We were next conducted to a corridor, the walls of which were decorated with the portraits, not of royal and illustrious personages, but of certain royal favourites, who, unlike most of that race, were never known to abuse the partiality shown towards them by their masters. Names, it is to be presumed, they had, but I am unable here to record them; for with all their merits, they make no show in the page of history. Not to keep the reader in suspense, the portraits of which I am speaking were those of the favourite horses of Charles X. XI. and XII.; which although not the most interesting subjects for the pencil, are not the most contemptible *creatures* to be met with in a court.

The private theatre, which is fitted up with great taste, is almost entirely new, and is built in the form of a semicircle, with twelve gilded Corinthian columns, between which are seats for the court; and the spaces between three of them are fitted up with mirrors. Behind it are two rooms, with several small paintings; and in another, are various portraits of Charles XIII., in theatrical characters. Descending from this to another room, we found sixteen portraits of the royal family of Sweden. In the audience hall is an antique chair, with a canopy, on a platform, with a full-length portrait at the back of it of Gustavus Vasa, a name dear to every Swede. That of the present king hangs on the right of the throne, beneath those of Charles XI. and XII. There are in all twenty-one pictures; and among them is one of Erick IV. Adjoining this are the apartments (hung with tapestry) once occupied by Gustavus Adolphus IV. The room was pointed out where he voluntarily signed his abdication of the Swedish throne, an act which was followed up by a resolution of the diet, that he and his heirs should be excluded from the succession for ever. Two copies were signed by him; and one of them having been delivered for his own use, he ordered a lighted candle, and committed it to the flames. This prince was succeeded by Charles XIII., and he

by Marshal Bernadotte*, who was called by the states to exercise the royal functions; and is held in the highest possible estimation for his prudence, judgment, and humanity: in short, for all those qualifications which can add dignity to a monarch, ensure the loyalty and affection of his subjects, and obtain the approbation of civilized Europe.†

* Two remarkable circumstances have occurred in the family of the present King: the son of Oscar the Crown Prince, has been baptized by the name of *Gustavus*, and the Emperor of Austria was solicited to stand godfather, in whose army the son of the ex-king Gustavus bears a commission. In the event of a revolution in Sweden, and of the Swedes, who are averse at this moment to the very name of Gustavus, being disposed in reference to their ancient rulers to recur to their title, they may be gratified in this instance. It requires no great penetration to see the politic circumspection on the part of the present king in giving this name to his grandson, in reference to supposed future events.

† In my late publication on this country, Norway, and Denmark, I had (p. 512.) an opportunity of giving a history of the abdicated monarch, and his present mode of living. In the London papers some extraordinary paragraphs have lately appeared, stating that he has been reduced to the necessity of selling his portmanteau at Basle. I have reason to think that this, at least, could not arise from poverty; for I know from authority, that the Swedish government has repeatedly offered to grant him a handsome pension, to enable him to spend the remainder of his days in comfort. This he most obstinately refused to accept. I have been assured also, that he has money vested in the British funds. Notwithstanding this voluntary and liberal offer, he preferred a claim at the congress of Vienna in 1815,

The great dining-hall, formerly the council-room, attracts particular notice, which is 84 feet long, 33 broad, and the walls are of the extraordinary thickness of 9 feet; but it is very low. This hall is hung round with excellent full-length portraits of monarchs, including our Henry VIII., and amounting to forty-six in number. In a long corridor leading from hence, are 142 portraits of distinguished noblemen and ecclesiastics; among whom is that extraordinary enthusiast, Emanuel Swedenborg. The next apartments are those of the Queen, from which is a charming view of the lake. In the drawing-room, which is of a circular form, are full-length portraits of Gustavus III.; our late monarch, George III., born June 4. 1738, in his robes; Ferdinand of Spain, born June 12. 1751; the Queen of Portugal, born Dec. 17. 1734; Charles III. of Spain, who died Jan. 20. 1776; Louis XV., born Feb. 4. 1790, died May 10.

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stating that he had been dethroned by Napoleon, with whom he ceased to have connection after the sacrifice of the Duc d'Enghien; that the act of abdication was given in a prison, and that he objected to abandon the title of his son. The act of abdication, however, speaks for itself, which declares "it is a *sacred duty* to abdicate our dignity and royal throne, which we do *freely and voluntarily*; our wish being to pass the remainder of our days in the fear of God, as we lament the *impossibility* of insuring the prosperity and honour of this kingdom; being *convinced* we can no longer exercise our royal functions, and preserve the *good order and tranquillity of the state!*"

1774; Stanislaus II. King of Poland; Frederick II. of Prussia; Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia; Maria Theresa; Gustavus III. of Sweden; Joseph, King of Hungary and Bohemia; Abdul Hama, Emperor of the Turks; and Christian. The adjoining room contains the portraits of twenty-four judges in their robes. In other apartments are numerous portraits of Russian and Polish families, with those of members of the Swedish royal family; but among this host of portraits not one is to be seen either of the ex-monarch, his consort, or his son, now in the service of Austria. Few collections can prove more interesting to the historian or the biographical collector than this; for, as I have already hinted, an illustrated catalogue of it, with a short memoir of each character, would be a work of considerable extent.

In a tower at the top of this palace, a miserable place is pointed out where John III. was imprisoned for ten years on the part of his brother, Erick XIV., who appear afterwards to have changed situations, for Erick was confined there by John. This unfortunate prince possessed not only a taste for poetry and music, but for painting; and, during his confinement, used to amuse his wretched solitude by making sketches with charcoal, diluted with water, having no other pigments; and using a piece of pointed wood instead of a pencil. There is a portrait of him here, said to be painted by himself; and

Baron Szirnheld has a miniature of his queen, Catherine Mansdotter, by this royal artist.

We resumed our journey on the 18th of October, when the weather was similar to that of the dead of winter in England, the cold being most piercingly frosty, the fields covered with snow, and large icicles hanging on the cottages. The roads were so heavy, that it was extremely difficult to get forward, even with four horses. A narrow winding tract led us between mountains, covered with lofty pines and fir-trees, rearing their proud and stately heads of everlasting verdure, but completely crusted with snow; and the sun having occasionally thrown a glimpse over their tops and through the branches, the whole scene around formed an exhibition of grandeur which it is impossible to describe. In the capital of this country, the average temperature during the year is four degrees above that of St. Petersburg. We passed Lake Kremming, on which there rolled along in great grandeur clouds of vapour that appeared to be chased by the glorious luminary. After proceeding some distance, we came to the end of the lake, from whence its whole extent (seven miles) was visible. At Blacksta a wedding was solemnized in a contiguous cottage; and on this occasion a may-pole was decorated, as is the custom yearly on the 24th of June, and surmounted by two gilded crowns. In the course of the following stage we remarked, for the first

time in this country, the sledge used during the winter months, drawn by a single horse in shafts, with a small chaise laid on it, which forms not only a pleasant and easy vehicle, but proceeds with a greater degree of velocity and safety than carriages on wheels. Gates were erected across different parts of the road to prevent the intrusion of cattle from one field to another. Beyond Ennerstad, to the right, is Lake Huler; and after passing through Aspe, we reached Lake Lugo. The cold became now most piercing as we arrived at Nykoping. This city, which is situated on a river of the same name, twenty miles S.W. from Stockholm, contains 3000 inhabitants, and has the remains of a castle and harbour.

Notwithstanding the excellent state of the roads, which did not require the slightest degree of repair, the peasants, on whom the obligation is imposed of keeping them in proper order, are always employed in digging and carting gravel, and piling it in heaps, even when the snow had covered the tracts. The fences dividing the several fields may be said, in point of neatness and regularity, to rival those in any country. Several of the lakes were sealed up by ice, and the meadow-land, which was under water, was in a similar state. In this latitude it was singular to find the trees retain their leaves so long; especially the poplar, notwithstanding the severe cold. Next we passed through Jader and Vreta,

and afterwards reached Krokek, where we were saluted at some distance from the post-house by the fierce bark or rude salute of an honest guardian of the night.

" 'Tis sweet to hear the watch-dog's honest bark
Bay deep-mouthed welcome as we draw near to home."

Our accommodation was hard enough, for we were obliged to sleep on planks; but too much fatigued to be very fastidious, and found that it might be possible even to "snore upon flint" after such a day's toil as that we had experienced. Those who declaim against luxury ought to pay a visit to Krokek.

On quitting this not exactly sybaritic place, a sublime view unfolded itself of a most extensive plain spread before us, with the spires of Norkoping in the horizon. The population of this town amounts to 10,000 persons, of whom about one third are Jews. In the environs we observed peasants ploughing up potatoes, previous to gathering them with their hands. We quitted it early next morning, and passing through Linkoping, arrived at the post-house of Holby, where there was a meeting of what are called judges, who were determining some cases of debt, and, it may be added, crim. con. Their appearance was not in any way calculated to strike with awe, or impress us with any great

idea of their dignity; for they had the appearance of farmers in their ordinary dress.

On our arrival at Hester we saw an artificial stag at the extremity of an avenue, and represented as bounding across it: it was well executed, and at first sight quite deceptive. Further on we had a view of Lake Somon, which has many beautiful islands, and is wooded to its very edge. The next day we passed Lake Sahur; and to the right is a mansion called Thanryd. Boards were affixed in front of many of the houses on the road, with the names of the inmates, stating them to be in the king's service, and naming the regiment and company to which they belonged. From the numerous lakes to be seen in this country, it must be concluded that they have been formed from wood having been cut down in swampy soils, and thus collecting and retaining rain. These great bodies of water are very striking features, and are said to occupy nearly 9300 square miles.* Sweden may, in truth, be considered as a complete field of granite, and rocks are the predominant objects; but rocks, lakes, and extensive forests, all seem to struggle with the operations of man for the occupation of the soil.

We halted for the night at Lindhorn, where the judges were holding their sessions. Next

* The celebrated lakes in Scotland cover a surface of 500 square miles.

day we passed Kulla, which proudly looks down on Lake Bruxyurn. Beyond this stands an old church, in the burying ground adjoining to which, an elegant column is erected to the memory of Major Angerstein. In some parts the juniper-tree grows to the great height of twenty feet. After burning and cutting down trees to within from three to five feet of the ground, the farmer does not root out the stumps previously to sowing the fields: on remarking this to a peasant, he informed us that this practice was considered to be beneficial, the soil near the roots being most productive; which he accounted for by the ground being manured by the ashes. At Güivoda we saw an ijedar, or chedar, a bird almost resembling a turkey, which was kept in a cage: this species of the plumed tribe is extremely beautiful, and the feathers are like those of the hawk. We passed the villa of Colonel Silversward on Lake Chirk, and then came to Fahr, where the road was lined with exceedingly fine oaks. At length we arrived at Carlscrona, founded in a most sequestered spot, in the province of Blekingen, in South Gothland, of which it is the capital.

This town, which is situated among a number of small islands, was founded by Charles XI. in 1680, as an eligible station for ships of war, which, it was thought, would be here in greater security than at Stockholm. The road to the

town is carried over a dyke, and along bridges of wood.

Lord Bloomfield having obtained an order from the King, permitting us to visit the docks, a favour rarely granted to strangers, we were received, on our arrival, by two admirals of the Swedish navy, who conducted us over the whole, and pointed out to us every object of interest. At this time there were fourteen ships of the line, three on the stocks, and one ready for launching, which was to receive the name of "Charles John;" the two others were to be called "Gustavus III." and "Oscar." Two of these were double-deckers of ninety, and the other of eighty guns.* They were under large sheds, that the workmen might not be impeded in their operations by bad weather. Government has resolved to expend 60,000 rix-dollars in the completion of these and others.

It is impossible to describe minutely all that offered itself to observation in these extensive docks. The three principal ones are thirty-two feet in depth; and it is proposed to add two

* The oldest ship existing in the world is that built in 1690. This is said to have been the yacht which brought over William III. to England. After being often metamorphosed or rebuilt, it was called the "Betsy," and was wrecked near North Shields in 1827. The first double-decked ship was built of 1000 tons burden, in 1509, by Henry VII., cost 14,000*l.* and called "Henry the Great." The royal navy was so first called in 1512.

others, and also two outer basins. The large basin is 250 feet in length, 110 in breadth, and 32 in depth, cut out of the solid rock. To the eye of a stranger, the navigation of this place appears almost impracticable, in consequence of the many small islands and shallows. The harbour is capable of containing 100 vessels; and the entrance, independently of the difficulties arising from rocks and shoals, is defended from the attack of an enemy by formidable forts. The number of marines are 1400, each of whom receives 60 banco in money, besides clothing and lodging. Their uniform is blue, with a white belt, caps with a long branch, or plume, — if I may so term it, of horse-hair waving in front. Our party was joined by Admirals Nordenskjold and Schantz, and by Captain Lagerberg, the latter of whom received his first nautical instruction on board of a British ship of war, and spoke the English language. The store-houses were piled with cables, sails, and rigging, all arranged in the highest order.

There is a school established here, on the British system, for 300 youths, intended for the navy; another for 200 boys; and a third for 100 girls. By a recent regulation, the King has ordered naval schools to be established in the capital, at Gottenburg, and other principal places, for the purpose of educating naval officers; and he has further determined that none shall be

admitted without undergoing an examination as to their proficiency in navigation. There is a collection of naval models in a building on the front of which is a tablet, with the following inscription to an individual, whose memory is here held in high estimation: —

"FRED. HENRY CHAPMAN,
VICE-ADMIRAL,
COMMANDER OF THE GRAND CROSS OF THE ORDER OF VASA,
KNIGHT OF SWEDEN.
HIS
GENIUS AND PATRIOTISM WERE
USEFUL
TO THE PURPOSES OF GUSTAVUS III.
AND
GAVE SWEDEN NEW FLEETS
ON AN IMPROVED PLAN.
CHARLES DUKE OF SUDERMANIA,
GREAT ADMIRAL,
ERECTED THIS TO HAND DOWN
HIS NAME TO POSTERITY."

And here, perhaps, I may be permitted again to urge the expediency of forming in the British capital a gallery for models of vessels, and every thing appertaining to naval and marine affairs; both as a laudable gratification to public curiosity, and affording incitement as well as instruction to those who are intended to serve their country on that element where we have so long and gloriously distinguished ourselves; and I would respectfully call the attention of the Lord High

Admiral to this important subject. A "Musée Naval" has been lately formed in the Louvre, where models of vessels of all descriptions, plans of sea-ports, and pictures of the most famous naval engagements, are to be exhibited; an example which, as we have not set it, it behoves us to follow.

Louis XVIII. and his consort resided at Carlscrona for some time, during the persecution of Bonaparte. In 1790 there were 400 houses consumed by fire; in short, there is hardly one town of consequence in this country, that has escaped a similar calamity, all having, in turn, suffered more or less by extensive conflagrations, attended with severe calamities.

Having travelled along a wild road, where there was an abundance of oaks, we next morning reached Skillinge, and afterwards Romsby. At the latter place we were saluted by a brawny son of Vulcan, who, as he stood at his forge with bare bosom, grim visage, and naked arms, surrounded by his attendant cyclops, would have made a good model for any artist intending to depict the swarthy Mulciber, that most unfortunate of husbands, and most scurvily used of the heathen deities. This blacksmith, however, seemed to be more facetious than the limping spouse of Venus is reported to have been, and his conversation displayed much shrewdness and humour, with—if the reader will excuse what will

be considered a pun, some talent for *irony*. On my observing that he seemed to have a tolerably warm birth, he replied that he was used to bear the heat, but that the sparks were apt to fly down his throat, when they required to be quenched. This was a hint that could not be misunderstood; so after making him a compliment with a small piece of metal, which, I dare say, he did not fuse in his forge, but melted into some potable fluid, we took our leave. In this district women wear wooden shoes, and white handkerchiefs tied flat on the head in a circular shape, like the crown of a bonnet, with large wings hanging over their neck, and nearly covering their back in a triangular form. The natives do not appear to observe the Sabbath very strictly, although professing the Protestant religion, for we observed ploughmen at work on Sunday. We found ourselves now on the borders of the sea, which soon after came into view; and after proceeding along the shore, we reached Narja. Beyond this place the country bore a strong resemblance to England, and the hills at a distance were covered with trees. We remarked also a decided change both in the style of cottages and in the manners of the people. Being overtaken by a Forbud, or avant-courier, who had gone forward to order horses for some carriages, agreeably to the practice of Finland, and having closely followed his cart for some

distance, we became impatient to pass him. The fellow was, however, resolved to keep his precedency of us, and showed the utmost impudence when required to allow our carriage to pass. In consequence of this, and every remonstrance having proved ineffectual, our driver dismounted and drew his sword in a rage. This, however, had no effect; and the man became more annoying, and much time was lost in altercation. He hastened his pace, resolved to keep before us, till we got to the post-station of Gedenryd, when we entered a complaint against him in the "dag" Book. This was the only incivility we experienced any where either in Norway or Sweden. The country now became flat, the roads bad, and the villages had a most desolate aspect. The children here wear wooden shoes, as in the north of England, and nightcaps on their head during day: many of them are very squat and broad, resembling the Dutch. Having referred so often to wooden shoes, it may be remarked, that notwithstanding they may be adopted from motives of economy and supposed comfort, they cannot fail to be injurious, and to incumber and impede the wearer; for as they do not yield to the bending of the foot, they are dragged along as a dead weight; nor have the muscles of the leg and calf any play. This is the reason why so many of this class of people, and of our labourers, who wear such enormously thick

soles to their shoes, are generally spindle-shanked, while the barefooted Hibernian peasant displays a convexity of calf, and symmetry of leg, rivalling those of a gladiator, or a ballet-master. Of all persons in the world, perhaps, the Turks and Arabs display the finest limbs, from wearing slippers and wide boots; and their bodies also are strong and muscular, in consequence of every part of their dress being so extremely loose and flowing.

The next post-house was Ejenkerzie, where, having been taken for Sir Robert Wilson, a number of people turned out to gaze on me. After passing some draw-bridges, we entered Christianstadt, which was built by Christian IV. in 1614, and ceded to the Swedes in 1658. This place, which is fortified, stands in a marshy plain, on the river Helge, which is navigable only for small craft; and is esteemed the strongest fortress in Sweden. There are some manufactories of cloth, but the chief trade consists in alum, pitch, and tar. Of this province, which is surrounded by the Sound and the Baltic, is 70 miles in length, and fifty in breadth, Lund is the capital, and contains a university. In this part of the country the soil is excellent; in fact, the province is denominated, and not unjustly so, the granary of Sweden, and is the most level part of it. The roads are, however, not so beautifully adorned with trees, nor

so winding, as those in the former part of our journey; but the landscape was altogether monotonous. Some tracts are entirely covered with oak trees; in others there is a good deal of common or waste land, and the fences are of stone, which adds to the bleakness of the scene. The juniper tree is not near so lofty as we had hitherto seen it. The villages were dirty, and the peasantry far from exhibiting that cleanliness, neatness, and comfort, which were before so remarkable a feature. Two circumstances, for which this province may be compared to some parts of Scotland, ought to be pointed out, although not very flattering to either, and would be an excellent subject for Mrs. M'Clarty. First, the prevalence of that filthy cutaneous disease, with which those south of the Tweed reproach their northern neighbours; and, secondly, the affection entertained for certain unsightly, and not very aromatic heaps, which they pile up just before their doors, especially in villages, as if they were unwilling to lose any of the perfume that is diffused from them. Were they Catholics, we might imagine they intended thus, like many of the saints and devotees of that church, to mortify their senses, and thereby perform a meritorious duty; but as they are not, we must suppose that they have a taste for such scents, however unaccountable it may appear to English noses. Some persons indulge in attar of roses, others, less sophisti-

cated in taste,—the simple children of nature,—enjoy the luxury of an odour never yet lauded by poets as one of the delights of rural life. The females occupying these Arcadian bowers were quite in keeping with the dwellings themselves, being abominably dirty, and slovenly in the extreme, with "unzoned waists," and their loose tresses hanging about their ears in such disorder, that, picturesque as it was, it caused us to regret that scissors and combs should not have found their way hither. There was little danger of soft contagion from their eyes, but very great risk, indeed, of contagion of a more unpoetical kind from their touch; for—and it is a remark which truth extorts from me, though delicacy, if not gallantry, would suppress it,—they were all absolutely covered with itch.* The pigs here, which, by the by, are far more cleanly than the fair sex, may be denominated red-coats, they being mostly of that colour, although it is one not greatly affected by those sluggish animals. The

* Since we are *touching* on this subject, it may not perhaps be amiss to mention that a French medical professor has asserted that 6000 soldiers afflicted with itch were cured in a few days by washing their bodies twice a day, first with soap and water, and afterwards a solution of sulphuret of potass; about four drachms of the sulphuret to a pint of distilled or rose water. He also states, that according to comparative trials made in the hospital at Montpellier, olive-oil rubbed over the skin will as speedily cure this disease as the most powerful preparations of sulphur.

churches are built in the Danish form, extremely narrow and high, with a gable front, zig-zagged at its edges, like steps meeting and terminating in a point at top.

On reaching Blekemosa, we got into the great road between Stockholm and Helsingborg; and after passing through a wild country, arrived at Aby, where the judges were sitting in the post-house, attended by a crowd of persons. They meet twice a-year in every province, and hold their assizes two weeks, or sometimes more, according to the extent of business which comes before them. A camp of 20,000 men is pitched near this place once in every three years. There are also two other camps at Stockholm and Uxvalla, ten miles north of Gottenburg. These are said to occasion government an expence of 18,000 banco daily, and, independently of this, liberal sums are given by the King for entertainments. At Helsingborg the money we had paid as a duty on our carriage from Abo to Stockholm was returned to us, on our showing the receipt given us there. Travellers, who arrive here from Denmark, are obliged either to bring or buy a carriage, as there are no stage-coaches or post-chaises in the country. Should they purchase one, they may reckon upon having to pay a high sum; and after finishing their journey, obtain but a mere trifle for it. For the carriage, which cost us 50*l*., besides harness that

cost 5*l.* at Hamburgh, we were only offered by our landlord 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 13*s.* 4*d.* for the harness. And as he is the only person in the place who either furnishes carriages or purchases them, the traveller must submit to take his price, if he wishes to get rid of his vehicle. The business being a monopoly, he has turned it to a good account, as he again disposes of these carriages for, perhaps, four times the sum he paid for them.

Our passport was examined and indorsed, for which we paid 2*s.*, and also 10*s.* for two boats, to the men 40 skillings, and 4 banco 8 skillings for putting the carriage on board. We here crossed over to Elsineur in two hours, and found the officers, by whom the baggage was superficially examined, unusually civil. Furnished here with another passport, which cost us four dollars; and having made a bargain for four horses at fifteen marks, we set out for the Danish capital. One good regulation here, which prevents all mistakes between driver and traveller, is, that the former has a ticket mentioning the precise distance the horses are to go, and the amount of hire. At the end of the journey he produces this; and it is material to observe, that there is a request subjoined to it, that if the postilion has acted in any respect improperly, his conduct may be complained of, on which he is liable to punishment. Soon after we entered

Copenhagen, which has been fully described by me in a former tour.

This being the 28th of October, the anniversary of the birth of the Queen, a splendid dinner and ball were given at court. A vast multitude assembled before the palace of Amelienborg, who were gratified in seeing the company through the windows. On this occasion no guns were discharged from the forts or vessels, nor were there any illuminations, fire-works, or other demonstrations of joy; but the festivities were confined to the walls of the palace. Her Majesty, who was born in 1767, is daughter of the Prince of Hesse, nephew to our late monarch.

We partook of the hospitality of the venerable Count Schimmelmann, at a splendid entertainment, and were introduced to all the foreign ministers. The Count succeeded as Prime Minister to M. Rosencrantz, who was prematurely cut off in the prime of life, lamented by his sovereign and the nation. After we had had the honour of a long interview with their Majesties and Prince Christian, the Count suggested that we should pay a visit to Her Majesty's father, and favoured us with a letter of introduction to His Serene Highness.

CHAP. XI.

Roeskilde. — Ringsted. — Slagelsee. — Fair. — Corsoer. — Passage across the Great Belt. — Storm. — Arrival at Nyborg. — Odensee. — Jutland. — The Little Belt. — Colding. — Christianfeldt. — Moravians. — Havershaven. — Flensborg. — Bodies of criminals exposed. — Tumuli. — Machine for conveying letters by post. — Arrival at Sleswig.

On the morning of the 8th of November we left the capital of Denmark. Our horses were uncommonly large and heavy, almost like those of English heavy cavalry. On stopping to bait, the carriage was driven under a large covered place, similar to a barn, with formidable folding doors at each extremity, and capable of containing a great number of carriages. At each side were mangers, fixed against the walls; and the whole place was exceedingly commodious, as affording shelter during inclement weather. After we had passed through Roeskilde, the ancient capital of Denmark, still famous for its cathedral, and being the birthplace of the celebrated author, Holberg, the country became flat; and numerous ancient tumuli were in all directions. The church at Ringsted, a place that formerly ranked as a city, contains the tombs of the ancient kings of Den-

mark: among others, those of Erick and Canute. The building, which is in the Gothic style, and in the form of a cross, is of great length, and has a tower in the centre. It is crowded with portraits of nobility, and antique tomb-stones. The altar stands almost in the centre of the church, and has figures of the apostles round it.

The farm houses in this part of Denmark make a singular appearance, being covered with turf, on which are planted willows. The peasantry are well clothed, particularly the women, whose caps are edged with lace, and whose favourite colour for their gowns and petticoats seems to be green. We met no post-chaises, but several vehicles, like carts, without roofs, with seats placed across, on which the body of a phaeton is often suspended on leather straps. We stopped at a house in front of the Lake Tuelsne, which was as neat a dwelling as any in England; after which we passed a fine wood of birch and oak, having occasionally a view of the lake, with a village and church on the opposite side.

Soroe, which was the next place we came to, consists of a few houses, and a large brick edifice, which is a royal college, supported by the revenues of what was once a richly-endowed convent. On a height beyond it was a gibbet, where a female had been lately decapitated for strangling her child. Her head was stuck on

the top of it, and the body exposed on a wheel laid horizontally on a pole. The country, which was hitherto naked, now became exceedingly beautiful; and, in one place, where there were two sheets of water, the character of the scenery was highly romantic. The road, too, was excellent, being formed of gravel, and of considerable breadth; and, from one spot, we could count ten churches. After passing the mansion of Count Knul, a most extensive view was unfolded; and we came to Slagelsee, a neat town, which at this time happened to be crowded, there being a fair at the entrance of it, and it presented an interesting sight, on account of the various groups that had flocked to it from all quarters, and who exhibited the greatest diversity of costumes. Both pans and kettles were in requisition: the former for frying savoury dishes, of various kinds; the latter for boiling; nor were glasses forgotten, for they seemed to circulate pretty freely. The chief articles exposed for sale were, saddles and bridles, spinning-wheels, and trunks, the last of which were gaudily painted, and as capacious as military chests, or as if they were intended to contain a whole wardrobe. Stalls were also erected within the town; and around these were crowds of rustics, of both sexes. The women had fair, rosy complexions; and were smartly decked out with cottage bonnets, of black velvet, edged with lace, and trimmed

with green ribands; and green gowns, and wooden shoes. Many of the old peasants had large wide coats, without collars; and waistcoats, with pockets outside, and with a profusion of large buttons as thickly set as those on the jackets of our sailors. Not one was to be seen in ragged clothes; on the contrary, there was an air about them that bespoke comfort, economy, and industry; nor was a single beggar to be met with.

With regard to the town itself, which contains thirteen thousand inhabitants, it is remarkably clean, and enlivened by numerous windmills in the neighbourhood; and may be said to resemble some of the neat towns in Devonshire. A Bavarian juggler entered our apartment at the inn, without offering the slightest apology, and showed a curiosity, which was the preparation of a scorpion in a glass-case. At first his compliments were as smooth as the glass he held; but on finding he could not prevail on us to become purchasers, he left the room hissing almost like a living scorpion. On leaving Slagelsee, a charming prospect of an extensive plain burst into view, diversified with villages scattered over it; and there were numerous conical tumuli, like so many small hills undulating its surface. We had full leisure to view the scene; for Danish postilions, like those in Germany, cannot be accused of driving so rapidly as to prevent a

traveller from noting the objects on the road. The land in this district is good, well manured, and was in many places under spring crops. Judging from the number of churches, we should conceive the inhabitants not to be wanting in devotion. Unquestionably, this does them honour; and it is most convenient for the peasantry, since they are not, as is the case in several countries, obliged to go many miles to attend divine service. A view of the Belt now opened on us; and after proceeding down a road, between two seas, we arrived at Corsoer, which is situated on a peninsula, near a small port where boats land and depart. At the inn, we found the floors of the rooms we were shown into strewed, not with the twigs of firs as in Sweden, but with dried rose leaves; yet, though this custom may seem very poetical, Arcadian, and romantic, such a carpet is but a miserable substitute for the meanest of those we are accustomed to in England. On the door of each room is a list with the prices of provisions and liquors; and a notice, showing not only the vigilance, but promptitude of government, as to passports.*

* " Sa Majesté ordonne que les voyageurs qui passent le Belt dans les vaisseaux ordinaires de trajet, seront obligés à delivrer leur passeports au maître du vaisseau, qui est tenu de les remettre au lieutenant du police au moment du débarquement, lequel les signera si promptement que les voyageurs, un quart heure étant passé, pourront faire querir leur passeports à la chambre de police." It may be added, that a

The town is small, and the houses only one story in height, and painted of different colours.

In 1658 the whole of the Belt was frozen so hard, as to allow the adventurous Charles XII. to march across it, with his army and artillery, for the purpose of making an attack on Copenhagen; but in the course of this desperate undertaking, part of this slippery plain gave way, and a number of his guards perished. It was again frozen over in 1760, when the thermometer of Reaumur stood at 20° below freezing.

We embarked on board of a vessel which was partly decked, and sloop-rigged, with a low mast; and our carriage was lashed on the deck. We set sail in a most furious gale of wind, and raging sea, accompanied with a deluge of rain. At one time the vessel ran aground; and at another narrowly escaped the rocks, when serious apprehensions were entertained for our safety. To increase our discomfiture, the cabin was crowded to suffocation; and, therefore, no shelter could be obtained in that quarter, while the waves were washing over the deck, and entering the hold; and as it was impossible to

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boat for passengers goes across on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The fare for each passenger is 3*s*. 4*d*.; and for a carriage, 1*l*. One vessel is reserved for the post that passes between Hamburgh and Copenhagen, which sails twice a week.

secure a footing on deck, where the mariners were "reeling to and fro like drunken men," I scrambled into the latter place, which presented a scene as extraordinary as it was wretched. The whole of it was strewed with carts, waggons, horses, and cattle; and the animals were up to their knees in dirt. There were several poor creatures, of both sexes, in a miserable plight, sprawling on the carts, some apparently in a state of total insensibility, while others were stowed into holes and corners, suffering from sea-sickness, moaning, calling out for help, and terrified with the idea that they were about to bid a final adieu to this world. Every other wave poured down in torrents among them; and each time the poor wretches uttered the most piercing shrieks. The greatest confusion ensued; and it was increased by the noise of the wind through the ropes. After wading through the mire, I got upon the wheel of a cart. The scene around was most appalling; and all of us concluded that the bark would inevitably go to the bottom. After remaining some hours in this state of misery, we came in sight of land, and skirted along shore; till having beat about for a considerable time, we entered a bay, where were some small fortifications, and soon after arrived safe at Nyborg, in the Isle of Funen. It is dangerous to attempt to cross the Great Belt at so late a season, although we could not possibly avoid it.

On landing, we proceeded, drenched with wet, and so bespattered with mire, that our faces were hardly visible, to the post-house, where we sat down to a tolerably comfortable dinner; and the enjoyment of such a repast on *terra firma* can be appreciated only by those who partake of it after being tossed about at sea, dreading every moment to be hurried into the mighty deep.

Nyborg is finely situated on an elevation rising gradually from the water, and is a clean and handsome place, with houses chiefly of a white colour. It is fortified with ramparts and ditches, and there are the remains of an antient palace, in which Christian II. was born, and which is now occupied as an arsenal. Although the water is salt, it is partially frozen during winter, at which time vessels pass with sharp irons projecting from their sides to cut a passage. On leaving this town, the number of conical tumuli on each side of the road were peculiarly striking. We now arrived at Odensee, the capital of the island, and a bishop's see, where we remained all night. The inns and post-houses, both here and in Denmark, generally, are far more neat and comfortable, or rather less dirty and uncomfortable, than those in Sweden and Norway. The female servants, too, are better dressed, and have fresh, ruddy countenances. In the morning, water for making tea was brought us in a bright polished urn that would not have disgraced the breakfast-

table of the first nobleman in England. It may be remarked, much to the credit of the Danes, that a traveller has no occasion to provide himself with pistols or other weapons; such precaution being totally unnecessary, as robberies are never heard of, notwithstanding that the thick woods through which the roads pass, afford very convenient shelter for plunderers and assassins, and would most effectually screen them from pursuit.

Beyond Odensee the country was flat, and consisted chiefly of fertile sheep-downs, scattered over with tumuli, while the churches were hardly less numerous. We passed many cottages, all of which were compactly built, and had an air of comfort that was exceedingly cheering both to the eye and the heart, while their neat gardens in front evinced the taste as well as the industry of their occupiers.

> "At eve new labours press'd:
> Their little garden-grounds were trimly dress'd;
> Scanty and narrow slips of earth, 'tis true,
> Yet there their comforts, there their treasure grew."

At a short distance from Grisabad is an extensive plain, where the numerous churches, with their antique towers, looked like so many dots scattered over the face of a map. The Little Belt now came into view, with the town of Middlefort, and on the other side is a prospect of Jutland, with the town of Fredericia.

The former is pleasantly situated on the edge of the water, and the houses have rather a smart appearance. It consists of one large street, with a church, and a school on the British system of education, which has been more extensively adopted in this than in any other foreign country. There is a small port for vessels, some of which take over passengers to Jutland in their route to Holstein. We did not, however, cross the Belt here, but at another point, two English miles further, and paid a couple of dollars for our passage. To prevent delay, we likewise hired a small boat for persons to go across and order horses at Snoghoe. On the whole, we were gratified with our journey in this island far more than with that through Zealand; not to mention the superior courtesy we met with from the natives.*

Proceeding through a charming winding avenue, similar to those in an English plantation, we drove down to King's Port, exactly opposite the post-house of Snoghoe, and having embarked with the carriage in a boat twenty feet in breadth, and with two square sails, were carried across in the space of ten minutes.

* It may be mentioned as a remarkable fact, that a few years ago a globe of fire passed over this island in open day, and at the same time a similar phenomenon was observed in Jutland.

This Belt, which is a strait, to the west of the Great Belt, between Funen and north Jutland, and one of the passages from the Cattegat to the Baltic, is not three miles in breadth, and is very crooked. We now landed in Jutland; but before we quitted the boat a book was presented to us (affording another instance of the attention of government), for our signatures, and testimonials of good conduct on the part of the sailors; for the same regulation extends to them as to postilions, so that any complaint against them, in case of improper behaviour, must thus be made known to the police. From the post-house and the opposite shore, a fine view is obtained of the Belt and the surrounding scenery, with the picturesque town of Middlefort.

We proceeded through Colding, formerly the seat of the Danish monarchs, where are the remains of a magnificent château hanging over the town. Beyond this was a handsome church, of which the King had laid the foundation the year before. The country is finely wooded, and in its features bears some general resemblance to our English landscape. We stopped the whole of next day at Christianfeldt, a place peculiarly calculated to arrest the attention of travellers, it being situated in the most sequestered spot imaginable. This town, which lies within the duchy of Sleswig, was founded by a society of Moravians, a singular people, who may be described

as a sect of highly respectable dissenters, and who derive their origin from the ancient Bohemians and Moravians. They have existed, as a distinct people, since 1457, when separating from those who took up arms in defence of protestantism against popish superstition and error, they denominated themselves "Brethren after the law of Christ." By degrees they established congregations in different parts, and spread themselves into Moravia and other states. This sect, which is sometimes styled "Unitas Fratrum," may be truly said not only to eschew evil, but to shun the very appearance of it; to flee what the rest of the world, whatever be their religious creeds, appear rather to seek than to avoid — temptation. Never was there a less worldly-minded sect; for not only do they reject the vanities, although not the sympathies and charities — of life, as rigidly as anchorites; but that attachment to lucre, and worldly possessions, which usually passes under the name of prudence, even when it is neither more nor less than avarice, seems altogether unknown among them; and their maxim appears to be, that "godliness with contentment is great gain." This is, in short, a community in which it is worth no man's pains to be a hypocrite: whether this be at all in its favour or not, must be left to the reader to decide according to his conscience.

The town has but a single street of any im-

portance, the houses of which are of brick, and all built on the same plan, with trees at measured distances from them. The inn was one of the cleanest we had ever entered; the culinary utensils were of brass, and the whole furniture arranged in a particular mode. One large room, however, was completely covered with pictures like a gallery, which appeared to be rather inconsistent with this people's ideas of simplicity. The pavement of the street was actually so clean, that one might have sitten down and enjoyed a repast on it in tolerable comfort. The inhabitants live by rule, are remarkable for their modest deportment, mildness, and primitive simplicity, yet seem to have every possible comfort, although no luxuries. The dress of the females approaches very much to that of our Quaker ladies; consequently fashion, with all its agreeable and disagreeable concomitants — shopping, bargain-hunting, milliners' show-rooms, and milliners' bills, morning visits, and morning scandal, — is unknown.

Should such a system of reform ever be practicable, many a dashing female, who spends her husband's income on her own person*, might,

* The only ornaments with which the Moravian fair deck themselves are those singular — I do not know whether I should say old-fashioned — ones — "meekness and a quiet spirit;" neither of which have yet been advertised in any newspaper, even among those extraordinary articles we frequently find offered there; viz. "Re-animation," "Con-

with propriety, be transported here for a term of years proportionable to the enormity of her extravagancies. Many of the other sex, too, might be sent hither to perform a moral quarantine, to the great benefit both of their own families and of society generally. Need I say, after this, how much Christianfeldt is unlike an English town? or that it is what would be pronounced intolerably dull? Still a season at Christianfeldt might be recommended to many as more salutary in some diseases than one at Cheltenham, particularly in that disorder hitherto undescribed by medical writers, but which

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solation," "Fraud prevented," &c. Surely a late noble admiral must have been thinking of the Moravians when he penned the following passage:—

"Do not make my girls fine ladies, which are as troublesome animals as any in the creation; but give them knowledge and industry, that they may take care of themselves when there are none left in the world to take care of them. Their education, and the proper cultivation of the sense which God has given them, are the objects on which my happiness depends. To inspire them with a love of every thing that is honourable and virtuous, though in rags, and with contempt for vanity of embroidery, is to make them the darlings of my heart. The generality of people, particularly fine ladies, only adore God because they are told it is proper, and the fashion to go to church; but I would have my girls gain such a knowledge of the works of creation, that they may have a fixed idea of that Being who could be the author of such a world. I do not wish they should be Stoics, but have a source of consolation for the worst that could happen."—*Lord Collingwood's Correspondence.*

might justly be termed *œcophobia.* This epidemic, which is so alarmingly contagious among our higher classes, drives the unhappy persons thus afflicted from their own fire-sides and domestic circle, renders them restless at home, and urges our delicate ladies to squeeze themselves for hours into crowded rooms, the heat of which would be sufficient to overcome the nerves — if such an animal has any — of a Newgate-market butcher.

As to the habits of the Moravian ladies, they may best be described by negatives: — They neither read novels nor scribble poetry; they neither paint fire-screens nor their faces; instead of Moore's amatory and inflammatory songs, they chant hymns; and what is far worse than all, the sex is so monotonously good, that ladies of character are deprived of the luxury of commenting on those who have none. Notwithstanding all these privations, however, none are known to be attacked by *ennui,* that dreadful fiend, by whom, in other civilised countries, so many people are possessed, and who drives them headlong into all kinds of follies and excesses. After this description, few of my countrywomen will sigh for the enjoyment of such a retreat as that of Christianfeldt, except, perhaps, some poor-spirited nobodies, utterly unfit for what is emphatically termed good company. Lest, however, it should be thought that these people are

absolutely spiritualised, and withdrawn from all worldly concerns, I must observe that some trade is carried on here, and several of the establishments which we visited were on a scale of considerable magnitude; nor were we ever more gratified than with the cleanliness, systematical order, and comfort that prevailed among the inmates. In these buildings, one part is appropriated to the men, another to females; and the apartments exhibit a degree of neatness not to be matched in the institutions of any country. Some of the rooms are used as depôts for the various articles manufactured here, which are of the most excellent quality; among them are very ingenious and fanciful toys, as good as to be found in the first bazars in either the French or English metropolis. In the chapel there is no pulpit, but merely a table in front; nor are there any pews.* Service is regularly performed

* In England the rules of *meum* and *tuum* are most rigidly observed even in our places of worship. A person hires a pew just as he would a box at the Opera. I have heard, too, that at a certain church in the metropolis some of these places are actually fitted up with sofas! Are not such invidious distinctions in the house of God not only highly unbecoming but also very impolitic; and do they not tend to keep many of the poorer classes from entering a place where the spirit of worldliness seems to prevail, and where they are not permitted, even for one little hour, to enjoy equal privileges with their wealthier neighbours? Although separated from them, at least their accommodations should be the same.

every morning and evening; in short, every thing bespeaks puritanical austerity, combined with primeval simplicity of manners; and this spot appears to be far more the sojourn of an elect people, than even such abodes of penance and discipline as the convent of La Trappe. At the same time, let it not be supposed from these observations, that because the inhabitants of Christianfeldt are indifferent to the vanities of the world, they are absolutely averse to the substantial enjoyment of partaking of the good things of life; since, if I may judge from the copious breakfast provided for us at the inn, they do not attach any great merit to fasting, unless, indeed, our host thought that, as strangers, we should report more favourably of the place for meeting with a plentiful repast. If, too, we had any reason to be satisfied with the excellent cheer, we were no less gratified by the extreme neatness and elegant comfort around us, and by the truly hospitable attentions of the landlord, who, although there was no want of servants, chose to wait upon us himself. Greatly did we regret that it was not in our power to spend some days in this town, and make ourselves more fully acquainted with their laws and regulations, and with other particulars respecting the Moravians.

As the Danish bank-notes would not pass either here or elsewhere in the direction we were

now proceeding, excepting far below their value, we were obliged to pay in silver. After leaving Christianfeldt, we found the country much the same as that we had formerly travelled through, finely wooded, and the fields carefully inclosed. At Havershaven, a town containing 1300 inhabitants, and situated near to a small lake in a valley, there is a cathedral in the Gothic style of architecture, built of brick, and forming a very conspicuous object, it being visible from a great distance. A mile beyond this place is a spot where malefactors are executed, and which is marked by a high pole between two hills. The last instance of punishment, which occurred five years ago, was that of a peasant for assassinating a captain in the army. Beyond this the road became sandy, and passed through some fine woods, where glimpses of the Belt appeared. At Apeurande there is a citadel and a small port, where vessels of considerable burden were building. After remaining here all night, we proceeded round the bay just as the sun was seen rising from behind a hill, gilding the whole scene around. Here another pole showed where criminals were executed. The last wretch who suffered here, which was fifty years ago, had robbed a boy of a few pence, and afterwards murdered him. We reached Flensborg, which is situated in a bay of the Baltic, and which bears a strong resemblance, in coming down upon it, to Rouen.

This place, which contains about 10,000 inhabitants, has a most antique appearance; the houses having lofty gable fronts, and projecting windows. There are three churches and a college, with four professors, and about four hundred students. We perceived that the tables of the inn were inlaid, not, however, with Mosaic or Florentine work, but with Dutch tile, representing various views. There is a small port, and the water is of sufficient depth to admit large vessels, many of which arrive here from the West Indies.

After being detained an hour for horses, we resumed our journey during a perfect deluge of rain; and a short way beyond the town, on an elevation, a most terrific spectacle presented itself, viz. the mutilated bodies of five sailors, some of them natives of this place, and a Russian, who had five years before forfeited their lives for the murder of the captain of a vessel and his son, with circumstances of unparalleled barbarity. This atrocious act was committed near the English coast, and they afterwards threw their victims overboard, but were apprehended by the vigilance of the English police, and sent here, along with two other men, who were accomplices in the crime. After decapitation, their bodies were stretched out in the dress they wore, upon wheels fixed on the top of poles, while their heads were stuck on other poles. The two ac-

complices were brought to witness the executions, and afterwards severely lashed upon the spot.

From the terrible state of the roads, we were threatened every moment to be upset. We saw numerous tumuli, of a conical form, almost in a line; and one of them at the very side of the road, according to the custom of the Romans. The post from Hamburgh, which here met us, was in a machine on four wheels, something in the form of a cart, with a seat in front, having behind it a kind of barrel or balloon to contain letters. At first sight this appears an odd substitute for a box or bag. It is not, however, adopted from caprice; for if, in passing the Belts in bad weather, the vessel should happen to be lost, the barrel necessarily becomes buoyant, and would thus be driven ashore, and picked up and conveyed to the first post, whereas a box might sink. In this district the bridges, which are in bad repair, have very low sides, formed by small upright stones, placed at short distances from each other, and an iron rod introduced through them in the middle as a railing. After a journey of forty-five miles in twelve hours, and now lighted by the moon moving majestically in brightness, and making her way through mantling clouds, we arrived at Sleswig.

CHAP. XII.

Sleswig. — Author's visit to the Prince of Hesse. — Departure from Sleswig. — Dangerous inundations. — Rendsborg. — Itzheo. — Peasantry. — Continuance of the inundations. — Elsnehorn. — Arrival at Hamburgh.

SLESWIG, the capital of the duchy of the same name, is situated on the north side of an arm of the Baltic called the Sley, and was formerly a place favourable for commerce. The town is irregular, but of considerable length, and the number of inhabitants are 9000. The houses, which are principally of wood, have gable fronts painted; and few exceed one story in height. There are four churches; one of which contains tombs of the ancient dukes of Sleswig; and in another there is a monument of marble erected to the memory of Frederick I. of Denmark.

Schools are established here on the Bell and Lancasterian systems; and there is also an hospital, which retains six medical attendants. To such extent is the noble virtue of charity practised in many parts of the Danish dominions, that the indigent and aged are supported by the peasants, each being obliged, according to his circumstances, to provide, for a longer or shorter period, one of his less fortunate neighbours. Contiguous to the town is an ancient palace,

formerly surrounded by water; but the moats are now choked up. Within a building erected on an elevation in the gardens, stood, at one time, the famous globe, which I mentioned as having been sent as a present to St. Petersburg.

On arrival, I sent the despatch from the minister at Copenhagen to the Prince of Hesse, father of the Queen of Denmark, who instantly returned a polite letter, inviting me to wait upon him. Entering the palace, I ascended a lofty and antiquated staircase, the dirty and neglected state of which was not calculated to impress a stranger with any extraordinary respect. At the door leading to the Prince's apartment stood a soldier with a drawn sabre. On being ushered into his Highness's study, I found a venerable old gentleman, with a mild and benevolent countenance, occupied in writing. There was an expression of intelligence and penetration in the Prince's eye, that indicated a degree of mental energy not very usual at so advanced a period of life, and which almost seemed to contradict the testimony borne to his age by his snowy locks. Well might he say,

"Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty;
For in my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors to my blood,
Nor did I with unbashful forehead woo
The means of weakness and debility:
Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
Frosty but kindly."

He was dressed in a blue gown with a star, and wore military boots and spurs. The affability of his manners, and the animation with which he spoke, evinced a refined and highly cultivated mind; and Palestine and Egypt happening to be touched upon among other topics of conversation, he entered into a long account of the ancient hieroglyphics, a subject to which he appeared to have devoted uncommon attention. After a very long conversation, he invited me to stay to dinner, when he introduced me to the princess his consort, his son and daughter, the latter of whom is Duchess of Holstein, and several other individuals of rank. The repast was very sumptuous, and served up in an elegant style. Instead of sitting at the end of the table, the Prince took a chair on one side, and motioned to seat myself opposite to him, that he might be able to converse with me more conveniently, again reverting to the subject of the Holy Land, in every thing relating to which he took extraordinary interest. The Princess sat on his right, the Duchess on his left hand; and the head of the table was occupied by the bishop of the province in his robes, and farther decorated with a star; while at the lower end of the table were two of the ladies in waiting, and some of the officers of the household. During the whole time of dinner, I was constantly, but not disagreeably, employed, in replying to the numerous

queries put to me by his Serene Highness, respecting the various places I had visited in the East; and happening to compliment him on the fluency and correctness with which he spoke English, he assured me that he had never visited this country, but his mother, the Princess Mary, daughter of our George II., had made it a point to have all her children well instructed in it. And it might here be added, that the letters I have received from this illustrious personage are in our language, and as correct, with regard to idiom, as if they were written by an Englishman.* A very short time was occupied at dinner; nor did the company remain at table long afterwards.

On the party breaking up and proceeding to the drawing-room, a pleasing sight was presented: eight fine little boys, the Prince's grandsons, dressed in a kind of military costume, with swords in their hands, drew up on each side of the door as his Highness entered, and went through certain evolutions like well-trained soldiers. After coffee had been handed round, the Prince desired me to follow him into his library, where our conversation was resumed, and conti-

* Since my visit, the prince has published and presented me with a work illustrated with engravings, entitled "La Pierre Zodiacale du Temple de Dendera, expliquée par S. A. S. le Landgrave Charles de Hesse, Maréchal Général des Armées Danoises, et Gouverneur Général des Duchés de Sleswic et de Holstein."

nued some hours; when he again returned to his favourite subject of Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The Prince of Hesse is in the vale of years, being upwards of eighty years of age, and may be considered the oldest prince now living in Europe; yet in person is still very graceful. His manners, although dignified, are quite devoid of *hauteur*. His Highness pressed me to remain with him some days, and I sincerely regretted my inability to do so; yet being anxious to pursue our journey,—having heard alarming intelligence respecting inundations in many parts of the country we had to travel through,—I was compelled to decline the honour. On taking leave of this excellent Prince, whom I shall ever recollect with the highest sentiments of esteem, he embraced me with warmth, and next morning sent me a long letter on the subject of our conversation.

On the 15th of November we left Sleswig, and were overtaken by a violent storm, which appeared an omen of what was anticipated by us in the prosecution of our journey. A number of tumuli are to be seen near the town, and some of them are split in the centre as if they had been purposely divided. The roads were extremely deep: quantities of water were collected on each side, where poles were erected to mark the track; and every instant the carriage threatened to upset.

Rendsborg, which we entered over some drawbridges, is a fortified town, situated on the river Eyder, and may be considered as one of the keys of Denmark. Over one of the gates is the following inscription, showing that at one period it was one of the limits of an ancient empire: —

EYDORA ROMANI TERMINUS IMPERII.
L'EYDER EST LE TERME DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN."

This place, which is composed of an old and new town, and has about 7000 inhabitants, contains some manufactories; and the trade in timber, carried on by means of the Eyder canal, is considerable. The place itself is remarkably clean, and paved like our English towns. Criminals, condemned to slavery, wear coarse white coats, with brown sleeves and caps; and have irons fastened round their legs.

On quitting the town, we had a beautiful view of the windings of the river, and of some charming walks shaded with trees that have been formed on the ramparts. With the road we now had to travel over, we were not so well pleased as the surrounding scenery; for it was one of the worst that can be imagined, being absolutely a puddle of thick black mire, to which succeeded, for several miles, a line of deep sand, and, in some parts, was covered with water. From the late

deluge of rain that had occasioned the inundations, many of the fields had assumed the appearance of lakes, in which were seen little more than the upper half of trees rising above the liquid surface that now covered the land. After proceeding some time along this wretched road, expecting every instant to be upset, the wheels of the carriage being nearly under water, we reached Remelu, having travelled only thirty-two miles in ten hours. Beyond this the fields were also completely under water, almost touching the branches of trees: the utmost distress and confusion seemed to prevail throughout the whole country in consequence of this calamity; and doubts were entertained as to the prudence or practicability of attempting to go forward, it being apprehended that the streams, which ran in rapid currents over the roads, might endanger the carriage. For some time we were in a great degree of suspense; for it was a truly awful scene to behold such a vast extent of country covered with water, both before and behind us! Numbers of persons were occupied in forming bridges of rafts across the road, which occasioned considerable detention; and, on our alighting, the horses were taken from the carriage, which was then drawn across. At one time it stuck so fast, that we almost despaired of its being extricated; but, fortunately, after great labour, this

task was accomplished; and having waded through the stream, we reached some dry land upon an elevation, and resumed our seats. On this height stands a rude monument, with an inscription on each of its sides, in different languages. Great part of it is defaced, but enough is left to show that it was erected to the memory of Henry Rintzonie, an ecclesiastic, in 1570. Night, now coming on, increased the gloom of that scene of devastation occasioned by the waters; and truly frightful was the picture that presented itself on every side from this eminence, for the whole country around seemed overwhelmed with floods. At length we reached a post-house; and on leaving it proceeded along a heath, after which we entered upon a well-cultivated country, with inclosures of turf, planted with birch and oak.

Itzheo, a town situated on the river Stoer, where we now arrived, is built of brick, and the houses are painted of different colours; and many of them are of antique forms, with lofty gable roofs. The population is 5000; and there are three churches. The streets are particularly clean. The walls of the rooms, at the post-houses, are covered with Dutch tiles, representing scriptural subjects, especially events connected with the life of our Saviour. The shops resemble those of the Dutch, in their systematical order and cleanliness, and in being carefully painted.

Provisions are reasonable, as may be supposed, when it is merely mentioned that a large goose may be bought for two-pence.

Beyond this town the cottages were of brick, with thatched roofs; and there were many windows, with gardens in front, having neat painted railings, and well-stocked with luxuriant vegetables; for some of the cabbages were of a most enormous size. At the side of the road was a fortification, which, at one time, protected an ancient palace. In the choice of names for inns, we here observed a most singular taste to prevail; for one of these places of entertainment bore the terrific appellation of "Hell:" while a rival establishment opposite to it, was named "Heaven." Which of them most merited the title it had assumed, I do not pretend to judge; yet most probably the former.*

That part of the Danish dominions where we now were has always been reckoned the most flourishing; and, in fact, it exhibited the very agreeable signs of general prosperity, there being every appearance of comfort, even in the lowliest habitations, the inmates of which were well clothed, and appeared healthy, cheerful, and industrious. The eye was not offended here by any of that squalidity that so frequently renders

* A house in one of the principal towns in Scotland is called "Little Hell," from acts of wickedness which are practised in it.

poverty an object rather of disgust than compassion, and indicates a want of that self-respect which confers a moral dignity even on the lowest station of life; and without which poverty assumes an aspect doubly hideous and repulsive. Perhaps poverty is too harsh and degrading a name to be applied to the circumstances of the happy peasantry of this district; for although their worldly store be little, it seems sufficient, not only for their wants, but their wishes, and their lot appears very far removed from cheerless penury.

We now began to hope that we had got quite beyond the reach of the inundations, but were sadly deceived; for we found that for a considerable extent, in the direction we were travelling, the country was completely under water; and that it would be dangerous to advance. We, therefore, turned off from the high road, and forced our way through fields, which were such a complete slough, or quagmire, that the carriage repeatedly stuck fast; while, to add to our disasters, we were accused by the tenant of the land, who came up to us, of trespassing upon, and injuring his property; for which we were obliged to make him a compensation. At length, coming to a place quite under water, there remained no other alternative than attempting to ford it, which, perilous as it was, we accomplished; and succeeded in reaching the post-house at Elsnehorn,

at which place the cellars of the houses were seven feet deep in water. The accounts of that prodigious extent of damage and destruction occasioned, both by the torrents of rain and the swelling of the Elve, and of the number who, to save their lives, were obliged to leave their farms and houses, and the shrieks of despair and horror we heard, were truly heart-rending.

At Elsnehorn, which is a small and ancient town, there are about fifty Jewish families, who have a synagogue; and there is one Protestant church. On pursuing our route, we met several carts conveying boats to bring the inmates from the houses surrounded by the waters, which were still continuing to rise. The fields, likewise, continued to present a melancholy sight, for the water extended to the very edge of the road; nor had we a much more agreeable spectacle, when, after passing through Pinnebourg, we beheld the bodies of three malefactors, who had been executed for the murder of two women in the wood of Pilemark, stuck on poles. They were in a state of frightful decay; and the fleshless bones of their hands, bleached by the wind, added to the ghastliness of their appearance.

A turnpike which we now came to was, after the horrors we had viewed, and the dangers we had encountered, a sight as welcome as it was novel; and heartily did we rejoice when the spires of Hamburgh met our eye. On entering that city,

we learned that it had not escaped from the floods, for several of the streets had been inundated. In short, the appalling scenes we had witnessed, as to these extensive inundations, most forcibly brought to recollection the mighty deluge of old, when the great deeps were broken up, the windows of heaven opened, and the waters prevailed on the earth during the space of one hundred and fifty days.*

* Genesis, ch. vii.

CHAP. XIII.

Route to Bremen. — A wedding festival. — Salter. — Bremen. — Cathedral, &c. — The Rosen-keller. — Route to Osnaburg. — Osnaburg. — Iburg. — Munster. — Church of St. Lambert. — John of Leyden. — Cathedral. — Town Hall. — Population, &c.

It was at first our intention to have returned at once to England, by sea, from this port; but in consequence of the alarming accounts we heard of vessels and their crews having been lost, we determined to extend the journey, by land, beyond what we had originally contemplated. Having, therefore, disposed of our carriage, for half what it had cost us, and forwarded our luggage by sea, we proceeded to Bremen.

The dulness and monotony of the country were now much increased by a considerable part of it being under water; for the inundations had extended themselves beyond Hamburgh. On stopping at Shezzar, our attention was attracted by a lad most fantastically dressed, and with a quantity of gilt paper and tinsel on his hat; and finding, on enquiry, that he belonged to a wedding party, in a house just by, we solicited permission to take a peep at the festivities. There were two rooms, crowded almost to suffocation;

and the guests were dancing, if dancing it could be called, in the most uproarious and turbulent manner, evidently not so much excited by the music, which proceeded from a groaning fiddle, as from the potations in which they had indulged. The floor was not very well calculated to assist their steps by its elasticity, for it was not boarded, so that the dancers had not only the pleasure of kicking up the dust, but the chance of stumbling into some of the hollows that gave an agreeable variety of hill and dale to its undulating surface. The fair cause of all this tumult, the bride, was a strapping creature, whose grenadier-like stature was further set off, not very advantageously, by a conical high-crowned hat, that actually touched the ceiling of the room. This was profusely decorated with tinsel; and her hair tied with several broad ribands that hung down to her heels. Her shape was of the most perfect symmetry — not Grecian, but Dutch; and a stomacher of black ribands, with a white apron, completed the *ensemble* of her charms and decorations. The other females were hardly less grotesquely attired; while the men wore hats rivalling in amplitude of verge those enormous constructions of black velvet which the English ladies thought so exceedingly graceful in the year 1827; and that certainly shielded them completely from the impertinent scrutiny of the disciples of

Gall and Spurzheim. As the apartments were not sufficiently spacious to permit all the company to join in the evolutions of the dance, some of the juniors had availed themselves of the propinquity of the churchyard; and were actually skipping on grave-covering turf, the windows being thrown open, so that they might catch the strains of the fiddler, and regulate their steps in concord with his harmony. Curiosity being satisfied as to these Baccho-hymeneal proceedings, we resumed our journey; and having passed through Rothenberg, reached the post-house at Salter: over the door of which, as well as those of many other houses, were inscriptions of a religious nature. The accommodations here for horses, cows, and poultry, — quadrupeds and bipeds, including, among the latter, the "*bipes implumis*," — were all beneath one roof; yet arranged with due regard to order, precedence, and rank.

In a vast barn-like space, from fifty to a hundred feet in length, the cattle are ranged in stalls on each side, with their heads not towards the wall, but in the contrary direction. At the upper end is the dwelling-house, to which the rest of the building forms an external covering or case. This has doors and windows, from which the inmates may survey at once all of their enclosed territory. The whole has certainly a very comfortable, snug appearance; nor are any

ill effects found to arise from the air being so confined, or from the breath of so many animals.

Within ten miles of Bremen the country began to assume a more cheerful aspect; and the roads were adorned with trees on each side. Bremen, which is one of the Hanse towns, and the capital of the duchy of that name, is situated on a plain on the river Weser. Vestiges of its walls and ramparts still remain; as likewise the gates, with large round towers rising above them. This place, which contains about 40,000 inhabitants, is divided into the old and new town, the former of which lies to the north-east, the latter to the south-east. The square, in which the Dom or cathedral is situated, is rather handsome; and in another, which is used as a vegetable market, is a colossal statue of Roland, twenty feet in height. The houses of Bremen are very irregularly built, no attention being paid as to uniformity, either with regard to height or any other circumstance; but all of them are roofed with red tiles; and projecting windows, terminated above by some statue or ornament, seem to be a prevailing fashion. A few years ago one thousand houses were destroyed by gunpowder, and forty persons killed. The streets are narrow, and badly paved; and lamps are suspended in the centre, after the French mode. The church of Notre Dame, erected in 1131, is an interesting Gothic

pile, and contains within several carved figures attached to many parts of the walls; yet it has lately been white-washed, in the true church-warden style, and the roof has been spangled over with gilded stars. The eastern extremity of the church is eight feet above the level of the rest, and ascended by a flight of steps. In an adjoining building are nine coffins, containing as many bodies, discovered in a cellar or vault close by. Although these are supposed to have been buried 130 years ago, they are all in a high state of preservation; and at first I conceived that they might have been purposely dried, as is the custom in Sicily; but was informed that their decomposition had been prevented by their having been placed in a particular current of air, which had produced a complete exsiccation. One of these bodies is said to be that of an Englishman, and another that of Lady Stanhope. The long cap and gloves of the latter were taken off by the person who showed us these relics of mortality. Whether these articles of dress, however, were original, may be doubted, as they had probably been since substituted. Contiguous to this church is a monastery, but it is now unoccupied. About twenty years ago, a museum was established here, which contains a collection of birds, &c., but the whole is badly arranged. The theatre, which is situated on the ramparts, and has a small colonnade in front, says little

for the taste of the people of Bremen, for within-side it is very confined, slovenly, and paltry.

This town is, in fact, far more noted for its collection of antique wines than museum, and for its devotion to Bacchus than to the Muses. In an extensive subterraneous crypt, called the Rosen-keller, is a range of enormous butts; and the wine in some of them is said to be two centuries old; yet most of them have undoubtedly been frequently replenished, and it is to be questioned whether any one contains wine of that age. One of these butts is so capacious that it holds 120 hogsheads.* In one apartment are twelve of these gigantic vessels, which, by way of distinction, are most indecorously denominated the Twelve Apostles; on each of which, as if the idea could not be carried too far, is bestowed the name of one of those holy men; and that which is called Judas is said to contain the best wine. Hauff, a German novelist of the present day, has lately published a wild extravaganza, entitled "Phantasien im Bremer Rathskeller," where he supposes himself to pass the night of the first of September in these celebrated vaults, and witnesses an annual nocturnal revel of the parties whose names the different

* I cannot touch upon the subject and quality of wine without mentioning a curious fact — that during this year (1825) the exportation from Oporto was 10,550 pipes; of which 40,300 were sent to Great Britain.

vessels bear; among whom is *Jungfer Rose*, a lady who personifies the very large cask so named, which bears the date of 1615. What wit there is in this piece is very ill applied, and does no credit to the taste of those who can endure such foolery.

The vaults are so extensive and so richly stored, as to contain no fewer than the astonishing number of two thousand hogsheads. They are all arched in the Gothic style, and there is a remarkable echo, for a person whispering at one end may be distinctly heard at the other by any one placing his ear against the wall. From their architecture and contiguity to the cathedral, it is most probable that these vaults were originally connected with that building.

Since the destruction of the fortifications in 1801, when this town was taken by General Vandamme, the ramparts have been planted, and now form a very agreeable promenade, with houses in front; the ditches also have been filled with water, and the banks ornamented with shrubberies and walks, so that what had once a formidable warlike aspect, presents now one of rural cheerfulness. There is something peculiar in the mills for grinding corn, these being fixed in boats stationed on the Weser.

On quitting Bremen, we entered the Hanoverian territories, and here we still perceived traces of the late desolating floods, most of the

fields being under water. At Cuckrow, where we stopped, the houses have no chimneys, but the smoke is suffered to penetrate all the rooms; to which inconvenience the inhabitants submit, that they may smoke their meat; and great numbers of geese are cut up, suspended from the ceilings, and prepared in this manner; which method is certainly economical, inasmuch as it saves additional fuel for this purpose; yet it seems equally well contrived for smoking and tanning living as well as dead bodies.

After passing Bonstoff, the road became so exceedingly bad that our carriage was upset; yet fortunately this accident was attended with no more serious consequences than a few bruises. We were, however, obliged to proceed afterwards at a foot-pace, crawling on to Diephold, and reminded at every jolt over this rugged tract that we were no longer either in Sweden or Norway, where the roads are as excellent as here they are miserable.

In the inn, we found, on retiring to rest, that we were to repose, not in beds, but in wicker cradles, like those of children, and scarcely larger, being not more than three feet wide, nor did their length altogether exceed six feet; so that a person at all exceeding a reasonable compass would be wedged fast in one of these infant couches. We were therefore absolutely deprived of the luxury of stretching out our weary limbs

after the continued jolting of the preceding day, and but ill prepared to encounter that of the next, which was, if possible, still worse. Beyond Bomtee, however, where, by the by, the landlord exultingly informed us that His Majesty had stopped at his house, during his visit to his Hanoverian dominions, the road became better, and workmen were busily employed in Macadamizing it. In the evening we reached Osnaburg, a city whose name is familiar to English ears, the late Duke of York having been titular bishop of it. The place itself is not very inviting, the streets being narrow and crooked; but it is surrounded by gardens with summer-houses and other ornamental structures. Many of the houses are very antiquated, with gable fronts, and the different stories hanging over each other; an admirable contrivance for excluding light and air, and rendering the streets, already too narrow, still more dismal; to say nothing of the great advantage in case of fire — when, of course, there is little chance of the opposite houses escaping the flames. If, too, the streets are dismal by day, they are so badly lighted at night, that people are forced to carry lanterns; which is the more necessary as the footpaths are high and narrow. The town-house is situated in a square, where is also the church of St. Mary. Over the entrance of the former building is a colossal figure in ar-

mour, holding a sword. In the hall is a picture, containing portraits of all the ambassadors, forty-four in number, who were present when the treaty of peace was signed here between Germany and Sweden, in 1648, in favour of the Protestant religion. Over one of the doors in the room are three swords that were formerly used for decapitating criminals. These are now superseded by an instrument also in the form of a sword, and there is a larger one, loaded with quicksilver, which is said to be more expeditious in performing its dreadful office. Capital punishment is, however, rarely inflicted now, except in cases of peculiar atrocity. The church of St. Mary is a considerably spacious edifice, in the Gothic style, being about two hundred feet long. The altar, which is of carved wood, is gilt in a tawdry style, and behind it is an inscription, recording a conflagration in the year 1613, when this edifice and 942 houses were destroyed. There is also another inscription, commemorating a similar public calamity in 1579, when seven thousand of the inhabitants perished in the flames. The walls of this church are crowded with costly monuments, and at the time of our visit great repairs were making to the organ, in consequence of a recent bequest for that purpose, of 1000*l.* by a Hanoverian merchant. The cathedral, which is an exceedingly ancient pile, being asserted to be about a thou-

sand years old, has a magnificent altar, with a crystal cross, on which is an effigy of our Saviour in gold. At the back of it are several presses, containing massive silver candlesticks, models of churches, and a silver crown, said to be that of Charles le Gros. At one time there were also here several silver images of the apostles, all of which were carried off by the Swedes, with the exception of that of St. Peter. The palace, which is an ancient quadrangular structure, of plain appearance, was occupied by our present sovereign on his visit to this city. There is a gymnasium for Lutherans, which has seven masters, and two hundred and seventy students; and another for Catholics. To the former of these His Majesty made a donation of 2000 dollars.

Beyond Osnaburg the country became beautiful, and the rural character of the landscape was increased by the number of farm-houses, all of which had an air of snugness and comfort about them, that rendered them highly pleasing objects. After passing through a wood, a magnificent prospect burst upon us of an extensive plain immediately beneath. On an eminence, above the village of Iburg, is a pile of building,

> "An old, old monastery once, and now
> Still older mansion,"

which has been occupied since 1803 by the governor of the district. Although a village, this

place contains about 800 inhabitants and two churches. This was also the birth-place of the mother of Frederick the Great.

At Telget, we were informed by the landlord of the inn where we alighted, that his dwelling, humble as it appeared, had been honoured by having been, for several days, the residence of His Majesty George IV.; for which honour we found that he had been more indebted to accident than design, since one of the carriages having been upset, the attendants behind had been flung off, and one of them severely wounded. With his characteristic humanity, therefore, His Majesty ordered him to be conveyed into this house, alighted himself, and remained here a whole day. This circumstance proved a fortunate one for the landlord, as it produced him a thousand dollars; it is needless, therefore, to say, that he spoke of our monarch's liberality in the most rapturous terms. Even the stains of blood on the table, on which the wounded man was laid when first brought into the house, were pointed out to us, and will, without doubt, be carefully preserved as a memorial for his descendants. Had it not been for this occurrence, I much doubt whether Telget would have been long favoured with the presence of royalty, as the place itself has nothing attractive in its aspect.

Not having met with any similar accident to detain ourselves, we now hastened on to Munster, whose spires shortly after appeared at the extremity of a heath. In the environs of the city are many gardens, with pleasure-houses and pavilions, which are the favourite resort of the citizens on summer evenings. This place is of some importance, being the capital both of the duchy of the same name and of all Westphalia. It was formerly fortified, but little remains, at present, even to indicate its once military appearance, except a few fragments of ancient walls. There are eleven churches; and the first of these is St. Lambert's, said to have been built 800 years ago. The principal altar is ornamented with Doric columns, and therefore quite out of character with the rest of the edifice. On the walls are many old paintings of subjects from the New Testament, with figures of bishops and saints; there is also a most preposterous image of the Virgin, with three swords sticking in her breast. The windows have a quantity of stained glass, emblazoned with armorial bearings. From the tower of this church, which is 307 feet high, is a fine prospect of the surrounding country; but what renders this building interesting to the historical traveller, is, that it was here John of Leyden, King of the Anabaptists, as he styled himself, suffered torture for having seized upon the city, which was retaken after a siege of four-

teen months. Three iron cages, about eight feet high, and four in breadth, project from the walls near the summit of this tower, in which he and two of his accomplices were exhibited like wild beasts. The cathedral, which is a still more ancient edifice, situated in a square planted with trees, has attached to it a monastery in good preservation, and in the cloisters belonging to it are numerous monuments, &c. There are some old paintings, one of which represents Christ driving the money-changers from the Temple. We were shown an enormous chess-board, about five feet long and two broad, which is said to have belonged to John of Leyden. There is, too, a curious clock, which is pointed out as one of the "lions" of this cathedral, and it is certainly a most ingenious piece of mechanism: there are four figures,—one with a trumpet, the second with a hammer, a third representing Time with his scythe, and the fourth Death with a dart in one hand, and an arrow in the other. At the expiration of each quarter of an hour, the first figure sounds his trumpet, and the other strikes with his hammer; and at the end of the hour, Death gives a blow with his dart, and Time reverses his hour-glass.

The town-house is a very antique and massive building, the walls being eight feet thick; the windows are Gothic, and two of them have stained glass, with figures of Justice, Fortitude,

Charity, Patience, Hope, and Faith. The hall, which is sixty feet in length, by thirty in breadth, has some grotesque but well-executed carvings; and niches or stalls, with seats and cushions, over which are the names of the persons to whom they belonged. At one end was a table covered with coarse tapestry, and at the other an enormous fire-place, with a massive canopy of carved wood, representing various events in the life of our Saviour. The walls are adorned, like those in the town-hall at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the portraits of those who were present here at the signing of important public treaties. A door beneath the table was opened by our cicerone, who took out a silver figure, representing a game-cock, the head of which can be taken off by unscrewing it, when it forms a drinking cup, in which capacity it is used at the election of a burgomaster. Among other curiosities was exhibited to us the hand of a notary public, which was chopped off in 1703, for forging a document, and is preserved here *in terrorem;* also an iron collar, with spikes, — no very pleasing memorial of the barbarities formerly inflicted upon criminals. Besides these, was an iron sword six feet in length, which formidable weapon is still borne in procession on some occasions. It was in this hall that the famous treaty of Westphalia, which terminated a

religious warfare that had been carried on for thirty years, was signed in 1648.

The city itself is very ancient; and the houses, the fronts of which are decorated with carvings and figures, generally rest upon arches, beneath these are the shops, and the latter are consequently very gloomy. There are about 18,000 inhabitants, the greater part of whom are Catholics. The walks around the town are pleasant, particularly those on the ramparts, which are planted with lime-trees, and command a prospect of the river Aa that flows beneath.

Although the greater part of the population are Catholics, recent political changes have considerably increased the number of Protestants; and in August, 1818, the Catholic university, which had of late years about 300 students, was broken up; but there is still a seminary for educating priests of that persuasion; also a Catholic gymnasium, which latter has about 250 scholars, and a library containing 25,000 volumes. Horses must be cheap here, if I may judge from a strong one for a cart, which I saw sold in the principal street for one guinea.

CHAP. XIV.

Execution of a criminal. — Remarks on capital punishments. — Route from Munster. — Dusseldorff. — Picture Gallery. — Cologne. — Route from thence to St. Julien. — Punishments. — Ghent. — Museum. — Convent of Nuns. — Cambray. — Lisle. — Calais.

On departing from Munster, although at the early hour of six o'clock in the morning, we found the whole town in motion, and crowds proceeding along the great road to witness the execution of a criminal; an event that excited a great sensation, no such punishment having occurred since 1812, when the guillotine was used, as at that time the town was occupied by the French. The spot to which the throngs were repairing, to gratify their morbid curiosity, was about two miles beyond the town; and on hearing that the malefactor was to be broken on the wheel, a mode of punishment we had never witnessed, we also yielded to the same feeling; and on arriving at the place, alighted, and joined the crowd. The multitude here collected formed a dense mass, and all the trees around were occupied by eager spectators. It does not say much for the tenderness of the softer sex, who, at least, are supposed to be more suscepti-

ble of pity, and more averse to sights of pain and horror, that the majority of the assembly were females. Surely, whether phrenologists have yet discovered it or not, there must be some organ of cruelty, the development of which incites the ladies of Spain to take delight in witnessing the tortures of a poor animal, maddened to desperation by its cowardly pursuers, at a bull-fight; and which led the dames and beldames of Munster to indulge in the luxury of an execution.

On the scaffold, which was about twenty feet in width, was a wheel resembling those of a small chaise, with an axletree in the centre, and a piece of sharp iron at the extremity; and beside it stood the executioner, not attired *à la Jack Ketch*, but in a costume not unlike that once belonging to a profession which, although satirists have compared them to executioners, would feel indignant at the allusion. A suit of black, with a steel-handled sword and steel buckles, a ruffled shirt, and cocked hat, gave to this operator a resemblance to a well-dressed physician of some half century ago, when such a dress was considered as indispensable as a diploma. His assistants, however, were less trimly, perhaps more appropriately attired; for, from their blue frocks and their caps, they had a good deal of the appearance of butchers, and from their *sang froid* seemed perfectly accustomed to such scenes of blood.

The criminal was drawn in a cart, escorted on each side by hussars, and attended by a venerable personage, his confessor. The whole cavalcade reached the fatal spot about eight o'clock. A solemn silence ensued while the criminal ascended the scaffold, and during the time he was engaged in prayer with the priest, holding a large crucifix in his hand. After they had been a short time engaged in devotion, the latter made the sign of the cross; on which the miserable victim was desired to lie down, when he clasped his hands, and appeared to offer up a final ejaculation to that Being, from whom alone salvation for his immortal part could be obtained. He was then placed horizontally on the scaffold, and his arms and legs widely extended. Under these, at the wrists and ancles, and below each of the thighs, were placed blocks, hollowed in the centre. Cords were then tied round his wrists and legs, and the ends of them were introduced through holes in the scaffold, and there made fast underneath. After this a rope was put round his neck, and the end of it, which was of considerable length, made to pass through the scaffold in a similar manner. After tying the cords, the executioner put a stick between them, which he twisted with all his strength; and the priest then stooped down over the face of the sufferer, holding up the cross. The hands and face of the wretched sufferer became actually red and blue; and although it might have been supposed that

Execution at Munster

strangulation was sufficient to have satisfied the ends of public justice, yet a different idea appears to have been entertained by the authorities, for one of the assistants gave three loud stamps with his foot, as a signal to proceed to the more dreadful part of the proceedings. He then took up the wheel, and lifting it near to his chin, plunged the extremity of the axletree with great force on each of the legs, arms, and thighs, and repeated this dreadful operation on the chest and belly. The former were, at each blow, completely smashed; when shrieks and groans pervaded the multitude at hearing the hollow sound, as the horrid instrument struck the stomach. This being done, the confessor came to the front of the scaffold, and addressed the multitude; after which he turned to another part of it, and kneeled with a book in his hand, apparently in a state of extreme agitation and tremour. On being taken up, the mangled remains presented a most frightful spectacle, the limbs hanging merely by the tendons and cartilages, so as to swing to and fro; they were then put into a coarse box, and hurried to a hole about a hundred yards off, and covered expeditiously with earth.* Not satisfied with the horrors they

* In the Roman capital is a burying-place for criminals, with the following short but expressive exclamation: —

"Domine cum veneris judicare
Noli nos condemnare."

had already witnessed, the crowd flocked to the scaffold, and ascended it to examine more nearly the dreadful apparatus; and as a proof how little they were affected by what was intended as a terrific warning to others, they indulged in the most shameful jests and observations.

Some idea of this execution may be formed from the prefixed sketch, which I took on the spot at the moment.*

I am far from wishing to call in question the expediency of public executions and capital punishments for murder and other atrocious crimes; but then it is highly desirable that they should be accompanied by no unnecessary barbarities; which, so far from rendering such spectacles more impressive and awful, rather tend either to excite compassion for the culprit, — to induce us to forget his crime in his sufferings, and consider the authority which dooms him to them in opposition to the principles of our religion, — or to create a depraved taste for witnessing scenes of cruelty, so as thereby to render men callous, and defeat the very ends for which such sanguinary exhibitions are made. It may, perhaps, after all, be doubted, whether society is, upon the whole, benefited by such rigour on the part of the law: the offending individual may be removed, but

* It appears that in Munster torture was declared to be abolished in 1776.

unless others are deterred from pursuing similar courses, the ranks of crime and desperate hardihood are soon filled up by fresh recruits. Solitary confinement, not of a month or two, — for such a term is insufficient to produce any amendment, — seems to be the most efficacious mode of checking crime; for desperate and depraved, indeed, must be that wretch, who, left to the monition of his own solitary thoughts, isolated from all communion with his kind, with nothing to embolden, nothing to countenance his wickedness, but, on the contrary, feeling every instant the misery in which he has plunged himself, would not be warned, for the future, from wickedness and vice. It is hardly possible to conceive that such a being exists. At present the desperate ruffian, so far from being intimidated at beholding his fellows in crime suffer on the scaffold, not only calculates on the chances of escape, —knowing what a comparatively small proportion of those tried for heinous crimes really undergo the last sentence of the law, — but hardens himself by the reflection that should it be his *ill luck* to be at length condemned, the interval between the sentence being passed and its being put into execution, is short. But the midnight assassin, who might brave death by the executioner, seeing the briefness of the actual suffering attending it, might pause with horror ere he would commit a crime, which, he knew, would cut him off

from life ere vitality was extinct, and consign him to that solitary, silent cell, where his only associates for years—perhaps for the rest of his existence in this world—would be his own reflections. A man may brave the terrors of the gallows, he may be so hardened in iniquity as to feel neither compunction nor remorse for his guilt, he may die sullenly, daringly; but where is the heart that would not quail at the prospect of protracted captivity—of a living death? No! nothing but either the consciousness of innocence, or sincere repentance, could enable a human being to endure such a fate—a doom, which only the height of madness would provoke. If it be said that this is mere supposition, I would reply, "Make the experiment." If it should fail, if it should prove less efficacious than the present system, then, by all means, return to the latter.*

* A law has been passed in America abolishing capital punishments, excepting in case of murder:—

"Whereas the design of punishment is to prevent the commission of crimes, and to repair the injury that hath been thereby done to society or the individual, and it hath been found by experience that these objects are better obtained by moderate, but certain penalties, than by severe and excessive punishments; and whereas it is the duty of every government to endeavour to *reform* rather than *exterminate* offenders, and that the punishment of death ought never to be inflicted where it is not absolutely necessary for the public safety; therefore, be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in

We quitted the spot where we had beheld a fellow-creature undergo such agonies, with feelings of horror, and minds little disposed to enjoy the beauties of nature, or the pleasing scenery of a woody and well-cultivated country. Although there was much to denote prosperity, there were not many signs of opulence, and very few gentlemen's seats. Having passed through Dulman, a small town, where there is a mansion of considerable size, occupied by the Duc de Croix, we reached Haltren, which was, at one time, the asylum of a number of French emigrants. At the inn, where we stopped for a short time, we observed a novel mode of kindling a fire: for this purpose a large iron poker was used, perforated so as to form a hollow tube, which being blown into at one end by the mouth, a blazing fire was got up in a few minutes. The

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General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, *that no crime* whatever hereafter committed, except murder of the *first degree*, shall be punished with death in the state of Pennsylvania." And to this it may be added, that the grand council of the canton of Valois in Switzerland (1827) has published a decree, abolishing the punishment; and it is anticipated that this enactment, so congenial to the spirit of Christianity, will be followed by similar decrees in Geneva, Bavaria, &c. Let me express a hope, that such generous resolution and noble spirit of humanity may rapidly spread over the world, where the dreadful punishment is inflicted even for comparatively trifling offences.

contrivance was ingenious, and, independently of the double office to which the instrument can be applied, it seemed to answer the intended purpose as well as, perhaps better than, a pair of bellows.

From this place the road was so bad that we were obliged to take additional horses; and even then it was with the utmost exertion we could get along, expecting, too, every minute, that the carriage would be either upset or shattered to pieces. Sometimes we were compelled to halt to rest the horses a few minutes; nor could we any where proceed at more than a funeral pace. In this wretched manner did we crawl on for twelve weary hours to Durstan; beyond which we entered upon an extensive heath, where we beheld the spires of Wessel, which is situated on the river Lippe. At length, after travelling only twenty-five miles in fourteen hours, we entered Dusseldorff.

This town is beautifully situated at the mouth of the Dussel, near its confluence with the Rhine, and was once the capital of the duchy of Berg. The fortifications were demolished during the revolutionary war, and the castle, with a church in front of the river, now a melancholy mass of ruins, was burned in a most severe bombardment in 1794; and in 1796 the place fell into the hands of the French. There are several squares; and in one of them is a bronze

equestrian statue of the Elector, John William, in armour. It is a noble object, and the figure itself is well executed; but the pedestal is in a most shamefully dilapidated state; the inscription is defaced; and the railing, which once enclosed it, has been torn away. In fact, it deserves a better site; for the spot where it stands is used as a vegetable market, so that it is hardly possible to approach near enough to examine the statue, the place being almost choked up by stalls. In the same square is an old palace, which was formerly the residence of the Electors. The celebrated gallery, however, so long the pride and boast of this city, and which used to attract artists and amateurs from every quarter of Europe, can hardly be said to exist, the chief pictures having been removed to Munich. Still there is a large gallery, 103 feet long by 34 wide, which contains above 200 pictures; and among these are some by Raphael, Correggio, Rubens, Vandyke, and other celebrated masters. The other apartments were shut up, being open to the public only during summer. Adjoining this building is a library, containing 20,000 volumes, in which Prince Frederick of Prussia has apartments. Among the churches, that of the Jesuits is the most noted for its splendour, and adorned with columns and statues. Many parts of this town have been lately rebuilt: the streets are spacious,

regular, and cheerful; and the houses, which are of brick, stuccoed, have generally handsome exteriors. Frederick Street, which is nearly one mile in length, and 152 feet in breadth, has two walks in the centre, ornamented with lime trees, and roads for carriages, each forty feet in breadth, after the plan of the Linden walk at Berlin. At the extremity is a small harbour, communicating with the Rhine, formed by Bonaparte, who laid the first stone; and although not yet complete, it admits vessels. Few places are, perhaps, laid out more beautifully with walks, shrubberies, and trees. There is a fly-bridge, 75 feet long and 61 broad.

Provisions are much dearer now than when the place was in the possession of the French; and the imposts, which are levied on certain articles, when brought into town, are sadly complained of; for instance, a tax of three halfpence is levied on every sack of potatoes, and several shillings on each bag of flour.

Leaving Dusseldorff, we proceeded in the diligence to Cologne, travelling through a delightful, romantic country, where we frequently caught a glimpse of the Rhine, whose stream and banks form such beautiful features in the landscape. We passed a noble château belonging to the Prince of Salm, with detached wings in a semicircular form, and having a sheet of water in front of it. The prince, who is step-

son to the Duke of Cumberland, is united to a lady said to be immensely rich.

Having described Cologne in a former tour, and our stay being now too short to admit of making any fresh observations of interest, I shall say nothing here respecting this ancient city, only remarking that we experienced some trouble as to our passport, in consequence of its not having been signed at Hamburgh by the Prussian minister, which, it seems, is regarded as an indispensable formality.

On leaving Cologne, we met a felon, escorted by an officer on horseback, and followed by another behind with a drawn sword. The houses in this direction seemed to be miserable habitations, being merely frames of wood, filled up with clay, and covered with thatch. Many carts, piled up with goods to a prodigious height, passed us, and attracted our notice by the singularity of their construction, the shafts being of very unusual length, and near each other, and their wheels remarkably high. The horses, also, made a curious appearance, having a kind of tippet of sheep-skins, dyed blue, and ornamented with a profusion of bells. We now passed St. Julien, whose *triste* appearance did not make us regret that we had no leisure to inspect it. After this we halted for a short time on the road, which afforded an opportunity, while the horses were changing, to witness a bousing scene within the inn, where a party of both sexes

were carousing with the freedom, although not the classical elegance, of a troop of bacchanalians by Poussin. The uproar of the place, and the dense clouds of smoke in which the apartment was enveloped—thereby serving, at least, to cast a veil over its filth — was such that we were soon glad to escape from it. How singular is taste! Here were these people, instead of enjoying the fresh breath of heaven, as peasants are supposed to do by drawing-room writers and drawing-room readers, voluntarily immuring themselves in an atmosphere, that, for stench and foulness, yielded not to that of the veriest stye in St. Giles's; to say nothing of the horrible dissonance of sounds, confusion worse confounded, that stunned our ears. These children of simplicity and nature would doubtless have preferred being thus huddled together in their smutty den, amidst a "pestilential congregation of vapours," to witnessing the finest sunset Claude or Barrett ever painted. Here were none of those *agrémens* which a skilful artist knows how to confer on such revolting scenes, but all those horrible realities which both poets and painters carefully suppress, and which excite no other feeling than that of unmitigated disgust by their coarseness and low depravity. To witness such a debasement of our species is shocking; and it is unpardonable in a writer to endeavour to gloss over such moral as well as physical pollutions, and to pretend, what in them is mere "make-

believe," that virtue and temperance are to be found in cottages. One English poet has ventured to speak the truth, and accordingly he has met the fate of most other reformers, and been abused for doing so. But the poetry of Crabbe will live, when the affectations of the L——s, and the W——s, and the B—— C——s of the day shall have long been forgotten, and all the namby-pamby tribe, who

"Pour their soft pulings on the palled ear,"

shall be buried in oblivion.

At Aix-la-Chapelle we found that the walls which formerly encircled it were now undergoing demolition, and the materials employed in constructing new buildings. A very elegant and spacious new theatre, about 230 feet in length, by 96 in depth, which was nearly completed, has a noble portico of eight columns, with a flight of twenty-five steps leading up to it. The form of the salle or auditory is circular, and the corridors surrounding it 18 feet wide. On the ceiling over the pit, we observed the names of Schiller, Handel, and other eminent dramatists and composers. This temple of Melpomene and Thalia will, doubtless, be thought by the inhabitants a very good bargain in exchange for their old walls, although a sentimental antiquary might cast up his eyes, and pathetically expa-

tiate on the frivolity of modern times, and dwell with enthusiasm on those happier days, when people preferred real sieges and assaults to those represented on the stage — those antique times, when there were no antiquarians!

Feeling anxious, in consequence of the spectacle recently witnessed at Munster, to obtain some information respecting the mode of punishment at Aix-la-Chapelle for capital offences, we made some inquiries to this effect, and learned that the guillotine has been adopted both here and at Cologne; and of all modes of execution, this is perhaps attended with the least actual suffering to the criminal. The bodies are not afterwards exposed, even when the culprit has been condemned for murder accompanied with very aggravating circumstances; and such a disgraceful practice, as useless as it is outrageous to both decency and feeling, seems to be confined to Munster; but it is to be hoped that it will speedily be abolished, even there, by the King of Prussia.

We now set forth again, and pursued our route homeward — through the Netherlands, passing through Liege, Brussels, Waterloo, and Ghent. At the latter place, the magnificent cathedral detained us; for we could not omit this opportunity of inspecting one of the finest monuments of the middle ages which the Netherlands possess. Thirty-two chapels, in-

closed between massive columns of white and black marble, give to its interior an air of richness and splendour which is further enhanced by the superb high altar. The latter is ornamented with the effigies of four bishops in their sacerdotal habits, with the armorial bearings of different sovereigns, and a painting of the Last Supper. There is in this church a sumptuous monument, erected to Von Ersel, bishop of Ghent, who died May 21. 1773. Divine service is performed here according to the ritual of our church, by an English clergyman.

The Museum contains about 100 pictures, arranged in a long gallery; and there is likewise a public library, in a church formerly attached to a convent, which contains 50,000 volumes; and among these we were shown a Narrative of a Journey to Jerusalem, in the Flemish tongue, ornamented with engravings, and printed in 1488. At night we visited a church belonging to a convent, where we observed several hundred nuns on their knees, veiled, and heard some very fine singing. The whole scene was highly solemn and impressive; and its effect was heightened by the flickering lights and shadows produced by the tapers, which seemed in unison with the deep peals of the organ and the floating strains of the choristers. On the service being ended, they all extended their arms simultaneously for

a few seconds, during which they uttered some fervent ejaculations, as if moved by some sudden, spontaneous, and irresistible impulse of devotion.

As an example of the immutability of fortune to which human possessions are equally subject with their owners, a building was pointed out to us as that in which the Emperor Charles V. was born, and is now converted into a cotton manufactory. We also saw the house where Louis XVIII. took up his residence in this city, on the return of Bonaparte from Elba. Ghent must be overstocked with English Bibles; for we actually observed many lying on the counters of several shops, where they are sacrilegiously used for waste paper to wrap up the articles that are sold.

On our route from Ghent, we again witnessed the recent inundations of the river Lis, which had overflowed its banks, and laid under water the whole tract of country on each side of the road, creating a picture of desolation and distress truly frightful. Surely it would be advisable, in countries subject to such awful calamities, for the government to offer premiums to men of science to turn their attention to this subject, and devise some means to be adopted on such emergencies, by diverting the excess of water into a new channel or reservoir, and thereby preventing similar devastations. Numerous crosses and effigies by the side of the road and

in front of the houses at Harlebeck, and in both instances with lights burning before them, were proofs that Catholicism still flourished here. At the above-mentioned town, which is one of the most ancient in Flanders, several of the houses were shut up and deserted, in consequence of being totally surrounded with water.

The environs of Courtray, which we next passed through, are noted for the quantities of flax they produce, which has the reputation of being the strongest in Europe. There are likewise a number of bleaching fields around it. The town itself contains about 16,000 inhabitants, and has a large square where all the streets terminate. We did not stop at Manheim to visit its palace and gallery, or any other of the public buildings, but hurried onwards towards the French frontiers; on reaching which our baggage was completely ransacked by the *douaniers*, an operation that detained us a whole hour. It was again examined at Lisle with a degree of rigour and suspicion not exceeded by that of the Russian police at Polangen, as formerly pointed out, when, it may be added, these "lords of the land" "spoke roughly to us, and took us for spies," although told "we were true men." We had no reason to complain, however, of any want of apparent cordiality on the part of the gentry who thus welcomed us; for to my astonishment, on alighting from the carriage, I actually received

what I first thought was intended as a friendly embrace, but which I soon discovered was only given for the purpose of ascertaining whether I had any thing concealed beneath my dress. There happened to be some ladies here at the same time, who were conducted by an aged female Argus into another apartment, for the purpose of undergoing a similar scrutiny. I am afraid, if the truth must be spoken, that these vigilant precautions on the part of the French *douaniers* do not say much in favour of English travellers; but are a pretty strong proof that many, who, at home, have the reputation of being respectable people, will, when across the water, indulge in practices that the law uncourteously designates by the ugly expression *smuggling*, a term very much akin to swindling. It is really singular what apprehension some ladies entertain of catching cold on their return from the Continent, and how carefully they wrap themselves up, not with flannels, but with silks and laces, so carefully concealed from view that no one can accuse them of any desire of making a vain display of such gauds. These smuggling *dillettanti* might as well leave this practice entirely to the professionalists, as utterly incompatible with that respectability which ought to characterise English travellers.

Willing to extend their attentions towards us as far as possible, the *douaniers* mounted the

carriage, and accompanied us to the *bureau*. I have already said, in a former part of this tour, that the circumstance of my being mistaken for Sir Robert Wilson obtained for me the honour of being gazed at by a crowd, eager to see an individual whose name at this time had made some noise; at Lisle it procured me the somewhat less agreeable distinction of a visit from a gens-d'armes, who waiting on me at our hotel, with the formidable accompaniment of a drawn sword, ordered me to attend him directly to the police, where, on being introduced into a private apartment, I underwent a strict examination, and had some trouble in convincing the person who questioned me, although he had a description of Sir Robert's person in his hand, that I was not the gallant knight; a proof of the little dependence there is to be placed on such verbal portraits.

Having already spoken of Lisle in a former work, I shall not repeat my observations here, but merely say that we resumed our journey almost immediately, and passing through Aire, arrived at St. Omer. This place owes its name to a now-forgotten saint, who is said to have founded a monastery here in the seventh century; and previously to the Revolution it was the see of a bishop. The remains of the abbey are magnificent, and, with those of the tower of St. Bertin, stand as memorials of the horrible

devastations committed at that period of anarchy and violence. Near the town are some floating islands in an extensive morass.

A few hours served to convey us from this place to Calais, which may now be considered rather an English colony than a French town, the English language being heard every where. This was the termination of our continental excursion —*finis chartæque viæque.*

Notwithstanding that we looked forward to the opposite shores of England with a cordial yearning for the land of our home, and although what had fallen under our observation in the various countries we passed through had rarely excited any comparisons to the prejudice of our own, I should pay a very suspicious compliment to my country — one favouring rather of narrow-minded prejudice than liberal patriotism — were I to assert that I had met with nothing worthy of approbation or imitation elsewhere. If, in some instances, the remarks on Russia and its inhabitants appear harsh, and if I have unsparingly censured that superstition in which the mass of the people are sunk, and which degrades the doctrines of the Greek church, as laid down by its theologians, almost to the level of Catholicism, let it be remembered that Russia is yet young in civilization. She may be semi-barbarous — so is Portugal, so also Spain; yet with this difference, the glory of the

latter is past, their energies extinct; theirs is not the debility of childhood, but of exhausted age; not the ignorance of inexperience, but the dotage of decay; while Russia, strong in her physical, may yet become as great in her intellectual powers. Still, so long as despotism shall continue to be the spirit of her government and its institutions, so long must her destinies depend on the individual character of her sovereigns. These have brilliant examples before them—Peter, Catherine, Alexander; and with the virtuous energy to will disinterestedly the happiness of his people, a Russian monarch would not want the means of raising them to an elevation in the scale of nations, of which history presents few examples. Enlightened and civilized, generous and brave, Russia may yet become to the world a second Britain; and narrow-minded, indeed, must be that man, and grovelling must be that policy, which could view, with a jealous eye, the moral improvement of an empire comprising so large a portion of the habitable globe. If the advancement of the human race be a subject of congratulation to the philanthropist; if a generous contest in the arts of civilization and national happiness tend to mutual benefit, to gain a competitor in such a career is a greater subject for exultation than to have vanquished a thousand enemies.

In estimating national as well as individual

character, we are too apt to compare not the merits of others with our own, but to contrast their imperfections with those points wherein we ourselves excel. It is probable that I myself may have, more than once, been betrayed into partiality by such a weakness, and, without making due allowance for differences of national culture and habits, and forgetting that Russia is not England, may have dwelt on her more obvious defects. If so, I must ingenuously plead guilty, and express a hope that the reader will, as candidly, impute it not to wilful misrepresentation, but rather to the briefness of my stay in that country, which prevented me from studying more accurately the character of the people. With respect, however, to the vigilant and jealous caution with which the government of a vast empire assumes to itself the character of a police; with regard to its petty tyranny over the conduct of individuals, and the uniform suppression of the publication of every sentiment at all at variance with its own views, there is, and I do maintain there can be but one opinion. Short-sighted, cowardly policy! — more debasing to those who enforce, than to those who submit to it! Such, alas! is the reaction of despotism, that it renders the sovereign himself a slave. But — and may that auspicious hour soon arrive — conscious of his power, and confiding in the attachment of his subjects, may the autocrat of

all the Russias declare the PRESS TO BE FREE. That single mandate will obtain for him as much renown as all that has been accomplished by the greatest of his predecessors, and would, under the blessing of Providence, give to the world another empire, the worthy rival of our own in that glorious cause — the cause of freedom, and of the moral advancement of the human race.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Lettrè dela Reyne Elizabeth a Madame ma Bonne seure la Royne Mere au Roy Tres cretien.

AYANT recu par votre Lettre Madame que Monsieur Paquier me portra l' honorable intention votre et du Roi mon frere en l' endroit de ma desolee cousine la Reine d' Ecoss Je m'en rejouis bien fort pour voir qu' un Prince prin a cœur le tort fait à un autre, ayant en hain une telle mètamorphose que la tete se convertit en pieds, et les talons se tenir au lieu de chef. Je vous promets Madame que outre que mon naturel me contraint à lui souhaiter tant honneur se est ce que l' example fut trop terrible aux voisins à regarder et a tous princes de ouir, car telles pestes souvent ressemblent l' infection de mauvaise planète qui commencant en un lieu sans y bien pourvoir tombe bien près en un autre. Non que (Dieu mercie) J'en ai quelque doute de ma part souhaitant que Mgr. le Roi mon bon frere ni quelqu autre prince en eut plus de cause de chatier des mauvais sujets que moi de me venger de miens, lorsquils me sont aussi fideles que les pourrai souhaiter, et nonobstant je ne faillirai oncques a me condoler avec ces princes qui en auront occasion de s' enrepentir, et meme les troubles nagùeres commences chez le Roi me fachent si avant que Mr. Pasquier comme Je crois me ouida nèe francaise par les passions en qui il me vit l' exprimant par paroles assez roides; vous priant Madame que si en ce temps ci

vous pourrez faire quelque plaiser, que Je la sache comme celle que me quitterai de bonne amitié en votre. en droit et cependant Je ne cessarai à prier le Creatur de garder le Roi et vous de meme de mauvais sujets et devous tenir tous deux en sa sainte regard Enhate de Hampton cour ce 16 Octobre 1567

Votre bonne sœur et Cousine
Elizabeth R.

No. II.

La Reine d' Ecosse a la Reine mere de France.

Madame Je vous envoye ce porteur pour l' occasion que Je ecris au Roy votre fils quil vous dira plus au long car Je suis guester de si pres que Je ne loisir que durant leur diner ou quant ils dorment que Je me reslesne car leur filles couschent aveque moy se porteur vous dira tout Je vous suplie lui donner credit et les fayre recompencer lui e seulx quil vous presentera autant que moymes ( ) Je vous suplie de avoir tous deus pitie de moy car si vous ne me tires par force Je ne sortiray jamayes Jien suis sure et que si il vous plest envoyer forces toute Ecosse serevoltera contre Mora et Morton s ills voient que prennes le matiere a cueur Je vous supplie donne credit au porteur and me tenir votre bonne grace et pre adieu quil vous
(*three lines illegible.*)
1 May 1568

No. III.

La Reine d' Ecosse a la Reyne de France.

Madame

Mes fortunes vous sont asse notyres et a moy durant iselles obligation que de vous servir toute ma vie comme ma volonte est tres adonnee selon que mon cousin M^r^ Flamin le present porteur vous pourra tesmoyner auquel tout ce autrement Je vous empescheras vous suppliant le croyre comme may mesmes et lui fayre paroitre le roy votre fils et vous lui de sa fidelite et Je vous presenteray mes tres humble recommenda a votre bonne grace priant dieu quil vous donne Madame en sante tres herreuse et longuer vie

Votre tres humble et

De Karlile obessante fille

ce xx huit Mey 1568 Marie

No. IV.

La Reine d' Eccosse a son Bon Frere.

Monsieur mon Bonfrere

Puisquil a plus a Dieu nous metter hors de la guerre avecques nos subjets et avec les Anglais Je ne veux failler de vous remercier par le Sr Garcilosso de bons offices que nous y ont faits lesquels scoy y avoir tant servy que ce la nous donne occasion au Roy Mon

Seigneur et à moy de desirer a nous en en quels chose un nous ayons moyens de vous faire preuve de ñre bon volunte de nous voulant aussi celer le bon de voir que le Sr Garciloss afait par deca en ce que luy aurez commande dont nous somes fort satisfait et vous priè Monsieur mon bon frere de vouloir estre le mesmes et croyre que ce nous sera beaucoup de bien de nous en cette bonne que nous monstrez en toutes choses . alaquelle vous trouverez toute correspondence et au Roi Monseigneur et en

Votre bonne Seur
Marie.

No. V.

La Reine d'Eccosse au Roi de France.

Monsieur Mon Bon Frere

Voiant contre mon esperence que les partiallites de cette Royne au moigns de son conseill me preparent Vne plus longue demeure issi que Je ne desiroys si il ne vous tant mon paie qui de moy plest i metre remede comme vous voirres par les advertisemants du Sieur de et que Je creins etre plus estroitement gardee dors en avant qui mosteroit le moyen de vous advertir particulierement de les etat present e passe despuis trese moys e veu quoiant envoie Monsieur de Flamin pour cest effect qui nasceu avvoir consgie de passer plus autre que Londres. Jay despeche Douglass present porteur pour au long vous fayre raport de ce qui est survenu despùis et vous conter e ma prison e ma sortie et ma retraite en ce pais e ce que Jay entendu quon fait de nouveau en mon pais particulierement vous priant lui donner credit comme a moy car il ma fayt preuve de fidelle serviteur mayant ostee dentre les mayns de mes mortels ënemis au danger

de sa vie e perte de touts ses plus prosches parants e pouse ce quil desire jusques a ce quil voie quil me puisse faire servisse comme il a commance de fayre demeure pour temps en votre court pour aussi en atandre le remede que metre a mes Je vous suplie lui donner quelque signe ou entertien pour faire conaitre que il vous a fayt me souvent la vie Je repondray de sa fidelite, il a besoign de cherche se preparer vne vie en France car il en peult bien guister sa part en Ecosse si Je nen suis maytresse tout a fayt Je creins que si Je ne resois plus de faveur issi que Je seray contreinte vous en envoier d' autres pour ce meme effet mays non vn qui mayst fayt vnsi bon e important service Je vous suplie avoir aussi pour recommande car on la lui garde bonne pour amour est de la partie et le pauvre Monsieur de ce ton a qui l' on menace doster la vie pour meme fayt or ilia si peu que Monmorisi est parti aussi e aussi Monsieur de Flamande que est si bien instruit si il a consgie que il fault aussi que Je vous recommend specialment cest un de nos vieulx serviteur e puis celuiss qui vous endira autant que Je saurois ecrire me fera finer par mes humble recommendations a votre bonne grace priant dieu vous donner Monsieur mon bon frere en sante longue e heureuse vie

Votre bien bonne Sœur
Marie

De Karlile ce xxvi de Juign.

No. VI.

La Reyne d' Ecosse au Sr de la Motte

Monsieur de la Motte

Ayant entendue que la Royne d'Angleterre madam ma bonne Sœur a envoye une armee en Ecosse et a ce

qu'oy peult clerement par soy edict dux de Mars cest pour defendre et maintenir mes rebelles et pour appriмer et ruyner en tant quelles poura mes bons et fidelz subiects sous couleur de poursuivre et chercher ses rebelles fugitivz en mon pays Il ma semble necessaire scachent que mes de elz bons subjets ne pouront resister contre les forces de la dicte armee et mes rebelles d' escrire au roy Monsr mon bon frere et le supplier que suivant les promesses qui du tout temps il luy a pleu me faire tout qui par ses lettres que par vous de se haster selon que la necessite le request de faire Envoye le support en mon pays le quel mes dict subiets ont attender toujours de puis (cõme vous pouvez bien voire) Je perderay entierement mon royaume perderai mon filz et verray la desolation de tous ceulx qui me sont demeures bons et fidelz subiets jusques a ceste heure. Je vous prie d' envoyer seurement mes lettres et le plustot qui vous sera possible ensemble et cest edict ce quel (cõm Je suis advertye) est imprime a Londres et de remonstrer vinement au dict Sr. moh bon frere quil est necessarie ou quil me support tout haste ou bien quil suffre les susdictz advenu ce qui ne pouroit redonder qui a soy deshoneur et blasme m' ayent (cõme dict est) et pour ces lettres et aultres mesage donne toujours asseurance du contraire quand meme il n' auroyt nulle esgarde de la Ligne qui a este de si long temps entre notre deux royaumes Vous scavez trops mieux que moy ey quel estat sont tout choses tant en ce pays quen Eccosse des quelles Je vous prie faire un ample discours au dict S pri moy bon frere et a Mesrs mes Oncles a celle finque voyant au vray le danger au quelle sont mes dict subiects mon filz et moy estat ils agt plus grand soing de les expedians pour y remedien et les secours et m' asseurant que n' obmettre rien que pencerez pouvoir

pour gaigner ce poinct. Je feray fin priant le creatur. Monsr de la Motte vous maintenir toujours ey sa divine grace

Votre bien bonne amye

De Tutberry Marie R.

ce dernier d' Avril 1570

Jaye addresse mes Lettres a Monsr Le Cardinal de Loraine moy oncle Je vous prie les envoyer dans le Pacquet du dict Sr. moy bon frere

No. VII.

La Reyne de Ecosse au Roy de France.

Monsieur mon bon frere

Le extremitay dè la quels muse de quoy Je masure vous nentendes la veritay Je suis constreint apres avoir recontrs a vous pour vous supplier J avoir esguard e en temps car autrement Je suis en danger estant prince de mon estast rester une afflisgee en Ecosse une proclammation dont Je masure votre ambassadeur aura la copie et vous fera entandre touts les particularities tout celles que il entand dailleurs que de mon particulier desquelles Je remetroy a lui pour navoir nulle seure commoditoy de vous fayre tenir cevnet par lequel de reschief. Je vous suppliray a ce besong e pour l' honneur que Jay resceu estant votre sœur nourie des mon enfance a une que vous et de du feu roy mon pere a madame votre tante et des ansiens services pour les quels mes predeseseurs ont eu tant de troubles et voire auquns jusques a perdre lavie sen vertu des anciens alliances et tretes de noz pays quil vous playse en toute diligence ennoyer suport a mes fidelles subiects qui pour mon service et votre respect nesont emp de dangier destre plus long

discours. Je laysse a Monsieur de la Motte et vous suppliray pour fin ne me habandoner ou frustrer la promise faveur Je vous suppliray aussi davoir mon ambassadeur pres de vous recommanday pour lui donner quelque meilleur mayer de me seruir pres de vous et davoir aussi George en recommendation et pour fin Monsieur de Rosse pour lequell il est guarday et na nul moyen en Ecosse qui me fayet pour vous suplier le favoriser de quelques petit benefice pour avoir moyen de sentretinir en mon service puis passer Jesuis de vous fayre ces resquetes me toute aultre moyen et esperant en vottre bonne grace a la quelle apres avvoir presententei mes humble recomendations Je priray Dieu quil vous doynt Monsieur mon bonfrere en santay tres heur heuse et longue vie

Vottre bien affectionee bonne

Tutberie ce dernier da Avril

No. VIII.

La Reyne d' Ecosse a la Reyne Mere.

Madame

L'honheur que Jay danvoyr estoy nourrie de votre Mere et votre tres obeisant fille et qui est toujours souhetay et feray toute ma vie de vous faire tres humble service me fayt prendre confiance, que a mon grand besoign, mes humble resquetes neseront seullement accordes avec toute faveur sellon que Ja il vous a pleu fayre et m'asurer du suport du roy votre fils et le vottre mes que prandres tel soyng demoy et de ce que me touche que bonne mere doyt, et peult pour vn deses enfans durant desquels. Je prans la hardïesse de me mettre et pour lamour du feu roy vostre fils et de la naturelle amitoy que Je vous a porter a quoy Je vous apelle vous memes atesmoyns le

discour in de ce que Je desire ou crein Jen remets les particularities au Sieur dela Mot pour navoir asses seure commoditie pour le presant de necrire seulement Je vous diray que voient vne armee ascheminee la sur les frontiers pour entrer in Ecosse si ni sont e vne proclamation pour fortifier mes rebelles et affoyblir mes fidelles subjects Je ne puis moyngs de vous ranmantenoir de l'ansienne alliance de ces deus royaulmes laquelles avesque mon dosmasgne se perdra pour le roy vottre fils si prompt remeder est donnay de quoy Je vous supplie et l'assurance que mes serviteurs ont m'estant fidelles destre par vous maintenus ne soyt en vein eulx et moy aurons peut ettre moyen de vous servir aussi bien que mes predecesseurs ont autre foys fayet. Jay grand regret que sans occasion ceste royne a qui Je suis si prosche sans offence de moy ayt si peu de respect et a vos priere et aceque Je lui suis que Ja soye contreinte vous empescher entre tant de grandes affayres pour le respect desquel si vous ne pouves mayder de tout que vouldries Je vous supplie demploier les autres princes vos allies pour avesques vous ce joyndre au suport et restablishment dune royne votre fill et alliee et apres dieu au roy et avous Jenauray obligation dont Je metray joyne maquiter en tout ce que cera en ma puissance et en cest endroit Je vous presenteray mes tres humble recommendation a vostre bonne grace priant dieu Madame qu'il vous donne sante tres heureuse et longue vie Jay priay le roy votre fils mestre a son serviteur et le mien George Douglass pour la service quil ma fait e aussi mon ambassador la Eveque de Glascou pour lui donner moyen de setenir pres de vous pour mon service la troysieme e pour le Vesque de Ross qui ne rescoit rien de Ecose est seul atandat pour mon service ou Je ne men puis passer moyen de lui en donner de si entre tenir Jen reprands de vous supplie du quelque petit benefise pour sentre tenir durant son banissement e ma prison Je vou suplie

prendre cest mienne prime resquete en bonne par pour la necessite ou Je suis

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant fille
Marie.

Tutbury
30 April 1570.

No. IX.

La Reyne d'Ecosse q, la Reyne d'Angleterre.

Madame

Combien que la necessite de ma cause qui me rend en nostre endroit importune nous fait inger que Je suis hors de la noye! ci est ce q̄. ceus qui n'ont ny ma passion ny les respects qui nous sont persuaddez ingeront que ie fays selon que ma cause requiert. Madame ie ne vous ay point accusée cause ny en paroll ny en pensee, bien que n' aues faute de bon entendement pour vous garder d' estre persuadee contre nostre naturelle bonne inclination. Mais cependant ie ne puis (estant sensible) que ie n' apercoyne un tres mauvays avancement en mes affaires depuis que ie suis venue icy. Je pensoys nous avoir asses discouru les incommodities qui me survienent de ce delay: et surtout qu'ils pensent tenir ce moys d' Aoust vn parlement contre moy et tous mes Serviteurs et ce pendant ie suis icy arresteé encores Voules vous que ie me mette plus avant en vostre pays sans nous veoir et m'eslogner du mien et de me faire ce deshonner a l' instance de mes rebelles d' envoier deputes pour les ouyr contre moy comme feries a vn simple subget sans ouyr de bouche. Or madame Je vous ay promis d' aller vers vous et la vous ayant fait ma plainte de mes rebelles et eus venus non comme possesseurs mais comme subgets pour y respondre vous voulaye

supplie d'ouyr ma justification de ce qu' ils m' auroient mis faulsment sus si ie n'en venois about vous pourriez descharger de vous mesler de mes affaires et me laisser pour telle que Je suis mais defaire comme vous dites, si J estoye coupable c'y pensoroys mais, ne l' estant, ie ne puis accepter ce deshonneur d' eus estans saisys qu'ils me viennent accuser devant nos deputes, Je ne le puys accepter et puysqu'il nous semble contre nostre conscience et honneur d' en fayre autrement, Je vous supplieray ne m' estre ennemie iusques a ce q comme en tout ie me deschargeray et me permettre me retirer en France ou jay vn douaire, ou en Ecosse avecques assuerance que s'il vient estrangers en Ecosse Je m' obligeray de leur retour sans nostre prejudice ou si cela ne vous plait Je proteste que ie n l' estimeray a faulsette si ie recoy des estrangers en mon pays sans vous en faire autre descharge. Faites de mon cors a' nostre volonte, l' honneur ou le blasme, seront vostres: Car i'ayme myeus mourir icy et que mes fidelles subjets soient secourus. Si vous ne le voules par etrangers ne les laissez ruiner pour espoir d' en recevoir particuliere commodite a la longue. J'ay beaucoup des choses qui m' esmennent a craindre d' avoir affair en ce pays a autre qu' a vous mais pour ce que de ma derniere plainte il ne s'en et rien ensuivy ie me tays advienne qui en pourra J'ame autant endurer ma fortune que de chercher et ne trouver point. Au reste il vous avoit pleu donner . . license a mes subgets d' aller et venir ce qui m' neste refuze par my lord Scrop et master Kanolles ce disent ils par vostre commandement par ce que ienay voulu partir a nostre charge que ie n'eusse la response de la presente combien ie leur ay monstre ce que requiest ma response sur ces deuz points conte us en nostre dite letre l'vn est pour les briefvement reciter Je suis venue vers nous pour vous faire ma plainte laquelle ouye vous declaroys mon innocence et puis pour requerir nostre aide et aultrement ie

ne puis si non faire ma plainte a dieu de n'stre ouije en ma iuste querrelle et appeller aus autres princes qui la respecteront de la facon q' mon estat le merite et a vous la premiere Madame quant vous aurez examine nostre conscience devant lui et les ayant pour tesmoins et l' autre de m' achemyner plus avant dans les pais sous aller vers nous ie n' estimeray ceste nulle faveur mais la prendray au contraire y obeissant comme a chose forcée. Ce pendant ie vous supplie me renvoier my Lord de Heris car ie ne m' en puis passer n' ayant icy personne de mon conseil et me permettrè aussi s'il vous plait sans plus delaier de despartir ou que ce soit mais q' ie soye hors de ce pays. Je m' asseure q' ne me refuserez ceste simple requeste pour votre honneur puis qu'il ne vous plaist vser de vostre naturelle bonte vers moy autrement et puisque de mon gre ie sui venue que ie m' en aille avec le vostre et si Dieu permet mes affaires venir a bien ie vous enseray obligee, si non ie nevons en pourray blasmer. Quant a Monsr. de Flammy puis que sur ma fiance luy avez permis aller chez luy Je vous respons qu' il ne passera outre mais retournera quant il vous plaira En ce que me donnerez credit pour mourir ie ne nous veus decevoir mais de Dombertron Je n' en respons pas quant my Lord Flammy seroit en la tour car ceus qui sont dedans ne lairront de recevoir secours si ie ne les asseure du nostre non pas quant nous devriez vous enprendre a moy: car ie leur ay laissee ceste charge de respect plus mes serviteurs et mon estat q' ma vye. Ma bonne seur ravisez nous gaignez le cueur et rien ne sera que vostre et vostre commandement. Je penserays vous satisfaire entout vous voyant . Helas ne faites comme le serpent qui se bousche l' ouye car ie ne suis vn enchanteur, mais vostre seur et cousin naturelle Si Cesar n' eust dedaigné d' escouter ou lire la planite d' vn avertisseur, il n' eust succombe. Pourquoy doivent les oreilles des Princes estre boucheès puis que

lon les peint si longues signifiant qu' ils doivent tout ouyr et bien penser avant que respondre. Je ne suis de la nature du Basilisque ny moins du Cameleon pour vous convertir a ma semblance quand bien ie seraye si dangereuse et mavaouise que l' on dit: et vous estes assez armeè de constance et de justice laquelles requieres a Dieu et qu'il il vous donne grace d' en bien vser avecq's longue et heureuse vie.

Vre Bonne Seur et cousin
Marie R

De Carleyl ce v^me^ de Juillet 1568.

No. X.

La Reine d' Ecosse au Roy de France son beau Frere.

Monsieur mon bon frere Despechant a courrier pour quelques mes affaires Je ne voullu failler de me ramancevoir en votre bonne grace et par mesmes moien tesmoigner lobligasion en la quell remetants etre tenue avoir dusoign quil vous est amour de tout ce qui metousche de quoy fauldray vous advertir quant il ad viendra que onfait digne cependant le Sieur du Croi vous tiendra advertir de tout ci qui est survenu depuis peu de temps qui sera cause quoi ne vous importeray que pour me recommander de bon couer priant Dieu voi donne Monsr mon bon frer entout eloigne nombreuse vie jour.

Votre Bien Bon Sœur
Marie

Ce xxi Otr
1568.

No. XI.

La Reine d Ecosse à la Royne de France Madame sa Belle Mere

Madam

Sen retournant lun de mes segretares par le quel Jay ressen les lettres quil vous a pleu mes ecrire et entendre l' honneur que me faytes d' avoir soign non seulement de mon pays de toutes mes affaires Je nay voullu fayllir selon mon devoihr vous en randre tres humble remersements et de l' honneur quil vous a pleu faire a ma resqueste a George Dougloss mon fidelle serviteur lequel Je vous recommande encores me prometant quen se pourra il servira le Roy et vous aussi fidelement quant a mes nouvelles ne vous puis rien ecrire du lieu ou Je suis si non que Je prie dieu que vos affaires ayent bon et heureux sucses remetant le surplus au porteur un de mes serviteurs apres vous avoir presantay mes tres humbles recomendation a votre bonne grace priant dieu vous donner Madame en santay longue heureuse vie

Votre tres humble et tres
obeissant fille

De Tutbury Marie
ce 13 de Fevbrier

No. XII.

La Reine Elizabeth a tres Ame Cousin le Roy tres chretien

Tres hault tres excellent et tres puissant Prince notre tres cher et trés ame bon frere et cousin

Il y a la quelques donnees que l' Estat et les affaires des Eglisses reformees de notre Royaulme ont este assez

esloignees et denos pensiers et quasi de nos oreilles tant a cause de l' asseurance que nous nous donnions qu' en notre personne parvenue a la dignite Royale ils devroient trouver un appuy si ferme de tout ce qui pouvoit concerner leur bien estre, que besoing ni leur s' sevoir receveher l' intercession ou faveurs des aultres. Comme aussi pour evite l' occasion qui pourroint prendre aulcuns mal sreveillants de calompnier nos diction envers vous les chargeants de curiosite en l' estat d' aultruy et volontiers desirerions qui'l ny eult cause ny suit de nous en approcher a jamais de plus prez. Mais il est advenue que lors que memes en pensious il nous est venu trouver un Gentilhomme depute de parte . Eglisse assemblees a Chastellirault avec instruction de nous informer tout de ce que depuis notre royne auroit este traiste de negotis touchant leur estat, et par eulx entre eux mesmes de notre permission et avec vous et votre conseil: comme aussy de nous receveher de l' entremise de notre credit qu'ils pensent que nous devons avoir envers vous pour leur faciliter l' assurance et accomplissement des conditions qui pourront estre accordees en leur faveur par ceulx qui vous avez depute a en traieter. Desquelles remonstrances combien que les mesmes raisons que nous ont fait aultrefois eschemie de nous entremesler de leur affaires serviroient encores a testefoir a notre consideration pour nous en detourner si est ce qui si presentoyent quand et quand des aultres plus puissantes a nous esmouvoir de leurs prester notre main, lesquelles ausy nous semblent estre aultant d' arguments de tres grande force de vous ployer a leur en donner entiere satisfaction et contentement. Soit ce que regardiez le merite des personnes suppliants ou la raison des choses qu' ils demandent. Car nous nous assurons que un naturel genereux et Royal comme le nostre ne peult s' estre laisse tomber de sa memoire les services de

ceulx qui en ont alors montre plus d' effect quand moins ils avoient d' esperance d' en tirer proufit, et qui ont donne de remarquables preuves de leur preud hommie et loyaulte en ces mesmes dangers esquela le default de semblable vertue en ceulx la qui peult estre maintenant retardent la bonte de votre esprit vous faisoit avoir besoing de leur fidelite. Desquelles considerations de leur personnes sont secondees de plusieurs aultres dignes d' estre non moins estimees en leur longue patience conformite a l'instar de vos affaires et simplicite de leur procedure. Car ils nous ont fait foy qu'ils ne se sont assembles pour traieter de leur affaires sinon sous votre adveu et authorite octroxee en memoire de leur services a ceste mesme fin qu'ils peussent trouver moyen de s' asseurer contre la malice de ceux qui leur veullent mal. Nous avons veu aussy en ce qui s' est passe entreulx et nos deputes que les demandes qu'ils vous font son fort inferieures aux faveurs des conditions, qui leur ont este concevees par des aultres roys qui n'avoient tant de raison de les recognoistre comme vous mesme, a' l'eddict de Janvier par consentement des estats de votre Royaulme donne de celui qui n' en avoit senty d'eulx sinon les armes aux quels la necessite les contrerignoit. Il en appel aussy que le but deleur poursuites ne se ressent ny d' humeur d' alteration ny d' ambition ny' d' aulter dessing, que ceulx de la securite de leur vies biens et consciences laquelle la nature esquilionne un chacun de recevezer et ne ce peult en justice denyer a ceulx qui sont membres tant considerables devostre estat et recommendez de meriter tout notoires envers votre personne. Il y a de plus un aultre raison qui nous a convier a vous parler si franchement de ce suit laquelle se derive entierement hors du soing que nous avons de tout ce qui peult toucher le bien ou de vous meme, ou de votre estat. A scavoir en l' observation que nous avons faits des

facons de proceder de ceulx qui ont plus d' authorite chez vous sur ce qui touche vous subjets de la religion reformee nous avons toujours eue opinion que c' estoit par desseing qu' on vous rendoit difficile envers eulx a fin que par leur affoiblissement donner plus de prix a soy memes et de vous imposer quasi necessite de vous confyer et appuyer deux seulx et de leur moyens. Conseil certes avantageux aux autheurs mais s' il est utile a vous de vous y arrester vous jugerez par ceste consideration qu' il vous retire de la confiance bienvaillance supports loyaultes de ces serviteurs qui vous ont tesmoigne leur devoirs par les monuments de leur sang pour vous jetter entre les bras des aultres lesquels ne se sont qui bien peu de temps y a devestir et des visages et des faicts envers d' ennemys tres obstines. Non qu' il soit de notre intention de vous engendrer soupcon de vos serviteurs loyaulx mais seulement pour vous ramentenoir (si ne deplaignezez l' advertisement de celle qui (Dieu mercy) a eue l' experience d' un long gouvernement) qu' il est plus approchant du devoir et de la prudence Royalle de se porter pour et egal envers ses subjects selon le quite de leur causes que de l' empiete du partiallites des humeurs. Lequel advertisement nous vous supplions de prendre de tel goust qu' en est la purete de la source dont il se derive a scavoir d' une sincere amitie et de mesurer a mesme pied tout ce qui de reste nous venons de vous prier en faveur des gens tres dignes de votre grace et de penser que l' instance que vous en faisons ni se fonde en aultre consideration que de cette compassion qui nous estant naturelle envers toutes sortes des affliges, n' a plus habil tesmoign de ses sinceres operations (ou il a est de raison de l' estendre) que vous mesmes alors qu' il estoit de vostre cas de vous interesser de nous en solliciter pour eulx. Que si aulcuns y dura chez vous qui en vouldront faire aultre construction pour esconduire nos requestes nous vous asseurons qu' elles

seront par vous recogneües de porter ces marques d' equite et de raison qu' elles se font par cette, qui a merité qu' on la respecte en choses raisonnables et pour des telles ont l' honneur (quoy qu' en descrient leur ennemies) d' avoir este les parens de notre jeunesse, compagnons de vos afflictions et instruments aydes principaulx a vos meilleurs fortunes. Desquelles nous supplierons celuy qui en est autheure de vous conserver longuement, vous donnant de sa grace Tres hault et tres puissant Prince notre tres cher et tres amé bon frere et cousin les conseils et advis les plus a vous en faire jouire Descript a notre maison de Richmond ce xxx^me^ de Septembre l' an 1597 et notre royne xxxvi^me^

Votre tres affectionate Seur
Elizabeth R.

No. XIII.

Le Roi Jacques d' Ecosse au Roy de France.

Tres haut tres excellent et tres puissant Prince nostre tres cher et tres amie bon frere cousin et ancien allie. Nous envoyens vous Baron d' Istrie Weyms avec charg de vous faire entendre quelques particularites de notre part dont nous assurant qu' il s' acquittera fidellement suyvant l' instruction que luy en avons nous vous prions de croire de ce qu il vous dira sur ce qu' en nostre nom comme nous mesme priant Dieu, tres hault tres excellent et tres puissant prince notre tres cher et tres ame bon frere et cousin et ancien allye quil vous veuille conserver en sa tres saincte et digne garde. Escrit de Falkland le 24 jour d' octobre 1597

Votre tres affectioné frere et cousin
Jacques R.

No. XIV.

Elizabeth de Bohemia a —

Madame ma Cousine

J rends grace bien humble de ce quil vous a pl me congratulr ma venue en ces quartiers icy. Mon obligation en est d' autant plus grande que c st honneur ma este rendu par l' entremise de ma trés chere cousine la Duchesse dela Trimouille election n' eust sera estre faite de personne pour m' representer vostre affection qui soit plus devouissement consacree a vostre service ny que J' honneur plus la dite Duchesse pour ses verteuss qualites presque inimitables. Il vous plaira donc de recevoir de sa bouche les assurances de mon amitie reciproque et de croire que Je seray inviolablement

Madame moy Cousine

V^re^ Cousin tres affectionee

Heidelberg 25 Elizabeth.
d' Octobre 1613

No. XV.

Elizabeth de Bohemia a ———.

Monsier mon Cousin

Le Sr Comte de Schomberg estant arrive icy suivant vostre commandement m' a delivre la vostre. Je vous en remercie tres affectuzem. J' appercay par ille la bonne que vous au demoy et surtout bien veillance et favuer l' ancien alliance qui est l' amitie que vous parle a Monsieur l' Electeur m' en asseurant d' autant plus Pourquoy il vous plaira de vous asseurez de la sincerite de mon affection dont a toute les

occasions qui s' offeront ie vous donneray de preuves reelles. Priant l' Eternal de vous tenir en sa S^t^ garde Je fineray la present demurant toujours

Monsieur mon Cousin

Vostre Cousine tres affectionee

Heidelberg le 18^m^
de Januar 1607

No. XVI.

Lettres de Roi Charles a Monsieur de Bellieure.

Woburn 26 Juliet 1647.

Monsieur de Bellieure

Cette occasion est si sure quill ny a point de danger de vous ecrire sans cypher e doutant moigns que Je me fie a ce porteur de vous dire ce qui est de plus grand importance le principall subjet de ce cy estant pour vous envoyer ce Billet pour estre adjouse au chipher qui est entre vous e moy Ainsi me remettant a Monsieur Lauderdale je vous asseur que vous me trouverez en toutes occasions

Votre bien bon Amy

Charles R.

No. XVII.

Angleter Samedy 13 Nov 1647.

Monsieur de Bellieure

Je vous prie denuoyer la letre que vous trouveres cy dedans a ma Femme E d' asseurer tous mes Amis que Je suis en sante libre e constant e ne sorteray d' Angleterre qu' a tres grands necessite en quoy vous obligerez beaucoup

Votre bien bon Amy

Charles R.

TRANSLATION

OF THE FOREGOING LETTERS.

No. I.

Queen Elizabeth of England to the Queen Mother of France.

HAVING learned through your letters, Madam, that M. Paquier will be the bearer of your honourable intention, and that of H. M. the king my brother, regarding my unfortunate cousin the Queen of Scotland, I am mightily rejoiced to observe that one prince takes to heart the wrongs done to another, when a metamorphosis is getting up, as if the head were to be converted into feet, and the latter take precedence of their chief. I assure you, Madam, that, besides the natural bent of my inclination, which constrains me to wish her every honour; there is also the example, which was too terrible for neighbours to look upon, or for princes to listen to; for such calamities often resemble the infectious influence of some malignant planet, which commences in one place, without our perceiving that it may fall quite close to ourselves in another. Not, thank God, that I have any fears on my own concern, wishing that my lord and good brother the king, or any other prince, had no more cause for chastising bad subjects than I have for avenging myself on mine, while they are as faithful to me as I could desire; and, notwithstanding, I cannot fail to condole with those princes who have occasion to lament the contrary, and bring their troubles lately commenced

before the king, they so much annoy me, that M. Pasquier, I think, must take me for a Frenchwoman, by the warmth with which he had seen me express myself, though with little elegance of words. Entreating you, Madam, that if, at this time, I can do you any pleasure (favour), you will let me know of it, and I shall acquit myself therein with sincere friendship in your place; and in the meantime I shall not cease to pray the Creator to preserve the king and you from rebellious subjects, and to have you both under his holy keeping. In haste from Hampton Court, this 16 Octr. 1567, from your affectionate sister and cousin,"

Elizabeth.

No. II.

Mary Queen of Scots to the Queen Mother of France.

Madam,

I send you the bearer for the same purpose that I write to the king your son, that he may speak with you at greater length, for I am so closely watched that I have no leisure but while they dine or sleep for relaxation, for their maids or daughters sleep in the same chamber with me—the bearer hereof will tell you all, and I entreat you to give him full credit, and to have him accompanied with those he shall present as far as means

I implore you both to have pity on me; for if you do not liberate me by force, I shall never get out, and I am sure that if you are pleased to dispatch troops, the whole of Scotland will revolt against Murray and Morton when they see that you take the matter to heart. I entreat you to attach full credit to the bearer, and to uphold me by your gracious favour.

(*three lines illegible.*)

1 May 1568, in prison.

No. III.

From same to the same.

Madam,

My misfortunes are sufficiently notorious to you, as well as the obligations I have to serve you all my life. It is my pleasure, and most devoted, as my cousin, M. Flamin, the bearer of this, will certify, to whom every thing I am prevented entering upon entreating you to believe him as you would myself, and let him appear the K., your son, and your self, to him for his fidelity and I shall present my very humble recommendation to your good grace, praying God to bestow upon you, Madam, health, and a happy and long life,

Your very humble and obedient daughter,

Marie.

From Karlile,
this 28th May, 1568.

No. IV.

Queen Mary to the King of France.

To the most mighty excellent and well beloved Prince our right dear and well beloved Brother and cousin the King of France.

My good Lord and Brother,

Seeing it has pleased God to free us from the war with our subjects, and with the English, I fail not to thank you by M. Garciless for the good offices therein rendered me, and which I know to have been of so good service, that we (I) am prompted to address my Lord the King by the present instance to request I may

be informed in what occasion we may have means of testifying our gratitude and good will. Not wishing, at the same time, to conceal the good duty which has been performed by M. Garciless on this side, when he had the command, and wherewith we are greatly satisfied. And I pray you, my lord and good brother, to continue the same, and to believe that it will be a great blessing to us to at this time to demonstrate in all our affairs in which you are concerned our attachment to my Lord the King.

Your good Sister,
Marie.

No. V.

Queen Mary to the King of France.

My good Lord and Brother,

Seeing that contrary to my expectation the partialities of the Queen, or at least of her council, are preparing me a more tedious abode here than I could desire unless you are pleased to apply a remedy thereto, as you will learn by the explanations of Lord , that I have fear of being more strictly watched than hitherto, which would deprive me of the means of acquainting you with my present state, (thirteen months now past) as well of my kingdom as of myself personally, and seeing that I have sent M. Flamin for this purpose, who has not been able to obtain permission to pass beyond London, I have dispatched Douglass herewith to report to you at length what has supervened, and to relate the history of my imprisonment, my passage, and retreat into this country, and where I have heard they are acting afresh in my kingdom, particularly praying you to attach the same credit to him as myself, for he has given me proof of a faithful servant, having rescued me from the grasp of my

cruel enemies at the imminent hazard of his own life, and loss of so many of his nearest kinsmen. And since he desires, till such time as he can see what can be done for me; to begin by fixing his residence for a time at your court, to await the remedy to be put to my misfortunes. I supplicate you to show him by some proof, or mark of attention, that you duly appreciate his service in the saving of my life. I shall answer for his fidelity, there is a necessity for his looking out for some means of securing a livelihood in France, for he must abandon all his prospects in Scotland, unless I be entirely mistress there.

I fear that if I do not experience greater favour here, I shall be constrained to send you others, with the same object, but not one who has done me so good and important service as the present. I pray you have also in accommodation (car on la lui et pour M. de) as they threaten to take away his life for the same act. It is but very lately that Montmorisi set off, as also M. de Flamin, who is so well informed (if he has permission) that I must also recommend him especially. He is one of your old servants, and as he will inform you of every thing I could write, I shall conclude with my humble recommendation to your good Grace, beseeching God to bestow on my good Lord and Brother long life, health and happiness,

Your very affect. Sister,

From Karlile, Marie.
26 June, 1568.

No. VI.

Queen Mary to Monsieur de la Motte.

Monsieur de la Motte,

Having heard that the Queen of England, my illustrious sister, has dispatched an army into Scotland,

and, as is clearly shewn by her edict of March, to give countenance and support to my rebellious subjects, and to oppress and ruin, as far as may be, all those who remain loyal and well affected to my cause, under pretext of executing justice upon her rebellious subjects in my country; it seems necessary, from a conviction that my good subjects will never be able successfully to resist the said army and the rebel force, to address myself to my good lord and brother the King, and to supplicate him, that, agreeably to the promises which it has pleased H. M. at all times so often to convey me by letter, as well as by yourself, to use that dispatch which the necessity of the case demands, and to send that support into my kingdom, which, as you will perceive, my subjects have expected so long, and without which I shall entirely lose my kingdom — my son — and behold the destruction of all those who have remained faithful up to this hour. I entreat you, therefore, to have my letters conveyed by sure hands, and with all possible dispatch, along with this edict; which, as I have been advertised, is printed at London, and to remonstrate with my good brother in the most emphatic terms, upon the necessity of his furnishing me with immediate assistance; or, in short, it will be giving countenance to an invasion of my right, which could never redound but to his dishonour and blame, having, as already stated, on all occasions, both by letters and other messages, given me assurance to the contrary; and on this I rely, if he should even have no regard to the bond of alliance which has so long united the two kingdoms. You know so much better than myself the state of affairs in this country, as well as in Scotland, and on this subject, that I pray you to enter fully and particularly into them with my good brother and uncle; to the end, that seeing the state of absolute danger in which my said subjects, my son, and states are placed, they

may adopt the most effectual expedients for remedying evils of such magnitude: and assuring myself that you will omit nothing which can in any way second and prosper my cause, I conclude by praying that Almighty God may ever keep you, Monsieur de la Motte, in his divine favour.

At Tutberry, the last day of April 1570, from your sincere friend,

Marie R.

I have addressed my letters to M. le Cardinal de Lorraine, my uncle. I pray you have them forwarded in the pacquet of the King, my brother.

No. VII.

Letter from the Queen of Scotland to the King.

My Lord and Brother,

The extremities to which I am reduced, the truth of which I am sure you have not heard, I am constrained, after hearing to recount to you, to supplicate your special regard thereto, while the time permits; for otherwise I am in danger of my condition as prince, or of retaining in Scotland, in the midst of affliction, . A proclamation, of which, I presume, your ambassador will have a copy, and acquaint you with all the particulars, such as he collects elsewhere, as well as from myself, privately, which I shall return to him, from having no sure convenience, " de vous fayrre tenir cernet dereschief." I must supplicate you in regard to this necessity, and for the honour I have received in being your sister; nourished from my infancy, as well as yourself, by the late King my father, and by Madame your Aunt, as

well as for the ancient services for which my predecessors have encountered so many hardships, even to the loss of life. Without virtue of the antient alliance, and treaties of our countries, be pleased graciously to send with all diligence the necessary support to my faithful subjects, who, for my service, and from respect to you, have made every sacrifice, and are at this moment in danger of being totally ruined. I cannot prosecute this subject further, but leave to M. de la Motte to enter fully into detail; and, in conclusion, supplicate you not to abandon me, nor frustrate the favour promised. I must entreat you, also, to have my ambassador near you, recommended, to give him better means of serving me with you, and to have George in recommendation also; and, lastly, Mr. de Rosse, for whom he is guardian; and having no property in Scotland, I am led to bespeak your favour in his behalf, and to bestow upon him some little office, whereby he may be enabled to support himself in my service. I am sorry to make these requests, destitute of all other resource. Placing my hopes on your good grace, to which, after having presented my humble recommendation, I shall pray God to preserve my good brother in perfect health and long life. From Tutbere, this last day of April.

Your very affectionate Sister.

No. VIII.

The Queen of Scotland to the Queen Mother.

The happiness of having been brought up by your mother and your very dutiful daughter, which has been, and is, the consolation of my life, and ambition to tender you my humble duty, gives me confidence, that agree-

ably to the great necessity of my case, my requests shall not only be accorded me with all favour, according as you have been pleased to assure me of the support of the King your son, and your own, but that, moreover, you will take such care of me and my concerns, as a good mother ought and can for one of her own children. —Emboldened by these considerations, I take the liberty of becoming your suppliant both for your love of the late King your son, and for that natural bond of friendship which unites us, and which I have ever borne you. Of the subject whereon I found my appeal, you yourself are witness, but for the full developement and particulars of my fears and wishes, I refer to M. de la Motte, having no sure convenience for writing. I may state, nevertheless, that an army is on its march towards the frontier to enter Scotland; if and a proclamation issued to encourage the rebellious, and paralize my faithful subjects, I cannot do less than remind you of the ancient alliance which has subsisted between these two kingdoms, which, along with my (sovereignty), will be lost to the King your son if prompt remedies be not adopted; wherefore I beseech you, that the trust which my faithful servants still have of being supported by you, may not be in vain. We may have, perhaps, the means of still serving you as well as my predecessors of former times. It gives me great pain, that without cause, the Queen, to whom I am so nearly allied, and without offence on my part, has so little respect to your entreaties, and to that in which we stand related, that I am constrained thus to intrude on you amidst so many affairs of importance, from respect to which, if you cannot aid me in the manner you would, I beseech you to engage the other powers in alliance with you, ( ) to combine for the support and re-establishment of a Queen your own daughter and ally, and next to God, to the King and you, I shall the obligation which I shall

strive to acknowledge by every means in my power, and I shall here present to you my very humble recommendation to your gracious favour; praying, Madam, that God may bestow upon you a very happy and long life.

I have entreated the King your son servant and mine George Douglass, for the service which he has rendered me, and also my Ambassador the Bishop of Glasgow, to afford him the means of support near you for my service. The third is in behalf of the Bishop of Ross, who receives no revenues from Scotland, and only attached to my service which I cannot pass over means of giving him wherewith to maintain himself . I repeat my entreaty that he may obtain some little benefice for his support during his exile, and my imprisonment. I crave you to take this my first request in good part, in consideration of the (painful) necessity to which I am reduced.

Your very humble and very dutiful daughter,

Marie.

Tutberry,
30 April 1570.

No. IX.

Letter from the Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England.

Madam,

However much the necessity of my cause, which renders me importunate in my present situation, adds to my embarassment, I am It is those who possess neither my passion, nor the respect (due to my station), whom I am persuaded will throw impediments in the way of my acting in conformity with the cause in hand

But, Madam, I have neither accused you by word nor thought; indeed, there was no want of good intention in guarding you against being persuaded contrary to your own good natural inclination. In the mean time, however, (sensitive as I am) I cannot but perceive the very unfavourable progress in my affairs, since my arrival here. I thought we had sufficiently discussed the hardships which originate in this delay — but, above all, they purpose holding a parliament the ensuing month of August, against myself, and all my faithful servants, and this too while I am here under arrest!

Is it your pleasure, then, that I advance farther into your country without to depart farther from my own, and there to do myself the dishonour of sending at the instance of rebels deputies to hear and witness their proceedings against me, like "feriees" to a simple subject, without hearing a word of mouth?

But I had proposed to you, Madam, to address myself to you in person, and here, having complained of my rebels (that they might comport themselves, not as masters, but as subjects) and answer thereto. Be pleased, I intreat, to hear my justification from what they had falsely brought against me, and if in this I were unsuccessful, you could then excuse yourself from taking any part in my affairs, and leave me as I am.

But to act, as you say, as if I were guilty! You will consider that, not being so, I cannot accept this dishonour from those who have accused me before our deputies. I cannot accept it, and since it appears to us as contrary to our conscience and honour to act otherwise, I must beseech you not to become my enemy until as I shall acquit myself in all, and that you will suffer me to retire into France, where I have a jointure, or into Scotland; with assurance, that should strangers come into Scotland I shall oblige myself with their return at my

own prejudice. Or if this should not meet your pleasure, I protest that I shall not consider it as a falsity if I receive strangers into my country without giving you other discharge. Do what you please with my person, the honour, or the shame, will be your own, for I had rather die where I am, so that my faithful subjects have relief afforded them; but if you do not wish this to come through strangers, do not leave them to be ruined by the hope of receiving from them (some) particular (private) assistance at last.

There are many circumstances which lead me to fear that I may have to do with more than yourself in this country, but as, from my last complaint, no consequences have followed, I am silent; happen what may, I had rather endure my hard fortune in silence, than ask and not receive. To conclude, you were pleased to grant a passport to my faithful subjects for going, and coming, which has not been refused me by my Lord Scrop, and Master Kanolles, who have done so by your command. Because I have not wished to depart to my charge till I had an answer to the present, much as I shewed them what requires my answer upon those two points, contained in our said letter. I have approached you to make my complaint, which when heard, will declare my innocence, and to solicit your aid; and otherwise, I can only make my complaint to God of not being heard in my rightful quarrel, and to make my appeal to the other princes, who will respect it according to its merits. And to you the first, Madam, when you shall have examined my conscience before him, and having them for witnesses. The others, to facilitate my progress further into the country, unless towards yourself, I shall not only consider it as no favour, but my obedience thereto must be considered as forced. In the mean time, I entreat you to send me back Lord de Herries, as I cannot do without him, having here not an

individual of my council; and to permit me to depart, if so it please you, without further delay, whithersoever that may be, so it be out of this country. I flatter myself with the hope that you will not deny me this simple request, for the sake of your own honour, although you are pleased to testify towards me in other respects, no hint of that goodness which is natural to you. And considering that I came of my own free will, let me depart with yours, and if God permit my affairs to come to a favourable issue, I shall be under obligations to you, if they should not, even then I could attach no blame to you. In regard to M. de Flammy, since you have permitted him, on my pledge, to return home, I answer for his proceeding no further, and for his returning at your pleasure. Whatever credit you shall give me for (" mourir?") I have no wish to deceive you; but for Dombertoon, I am by no means responsible when my Lord Flammy shall be in the Tower; for those who are therein will not cease to receive aid, if I do not assure them of yours; not even should (vous en prendre a moy) for I have left them in charge, to have my servants and my dignity more at heart than my life. My good sister, inspire me with confidence and hope; win my heart, and all shall be according to your command and pleasure. Ah, be not like the serpent, that stops her ears! for I am no enchantress, but your own sister and natural cousin! Had not Cæsar disdained to listen to, or read the complaint of an "avertisseur," he had not fallen. Why should the ear of princes be stopt, since, in painting, they are represented long, to signify that they should hear all, and think well before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, or even of the camelcon, to convert you into my own semblance, were I even as dangerous and wicked as they have represented me; and you are sufficiently armed with that

constancy and justice, which I implore God to give you grace properly to exercise through a long and happy life. At Carlyle, this 5th July, 1568.

Your affectionate Sister and Cousin,

Marie R.

No. X.

Queen Mary to the King of France.

My good Lord and Brother,

Dispatching a courier on some business of my own, I embrace that opportunity of recommending myself to your good grace, and by the same conveyance to acknowledge the obligation under which your care and affection have laid in what so closely affects myself. Wherefore, I must warn you when it happens, that they are forming a faction. The Laird of Croi (M'Rae) will undertake to acquaint you all that has lately taken place, which will prevent my troubling you farther than by heartily recommending myself, and heartily praying God, &c.

Your good Sister,

xxi Oct. 1566. Marie.

No. XI.

Queen Mary to the Queen of France.

On sending back one of my secretaries by whom I have received the letters which you were pleased to address to me, and feeling the honour done me in the solicitude you feel, as well for myself, as my affairs, I could not omit the opportunity hereby afforded of re-

turning you, as in duty bound, my very humble acknowledgments thereupon, and also for the honour which you have been pleased to confer, at my request, on my faithful servant George Douglass, whom I still recommend, pledging myself for his fidelity in whatever it may be in his power to express his duty to His Majesty and yourself, as faithfully, I may say, as to myself. In respect to news, I can write you nothing from the place where I now am, only I pray God that my affairs may have a successful issue, and leaving other particulars to the bearer, one of my servants, I conclude by presenting my very humble recommendation to your good grace; and pray God to bestow upon you, Madam, a long, healthy, and happy life.

Your very humble and very obedient Daughter,
Marie.

From Tutbury,
this 13th Feb.

No. XII.

Queen Elizabeth to the King of France.

Most high, excellent, and mighty Prince, our very dear and well beloved good Brother and Cousin.

There are certain data which from the state and the affairs of the reformed churches of our kingdoms have been very distant from our thought, and almost from our ear, as well from the assurance we had given that (on our person being invested with the royal dignity) they should find so firm a support in whatever might concern their well-being, as to have no occasion to bespeak the favours or intercession of others, as well as to avoid giving occasion to those who lay in wait for mischief to calumniate our intentions towards you by charg-

ing us with curiosity in the state and affairs of another. And greatly could we have desired that there had been neither cause nor knowledge why we should ever refer more closely to that subject.

But it has occurred, that while we were just thinking of this, a gentleman has arrived, a deputy on the part of the churches assembled at Chastellirault, with instructions to inform us of what (even subsequent to our reign,) ought to have been settled respecting their state by themselves amongst each other, and by our permission with you and your council; as also to tender the interposition of that credit which they judge us to possess with you in order to facilitate to them the assurance and ratification of those conditions which are to be accorded in their favour by those whom you have deputed to treat with them on the subject.

Moved by these remonstrances, (how much soever the same reasons, which formerly led us to avoid interference in their affairs, might still present themselves to our consideration to turn away our attention,) and because others of still higher consideration have appeared from time to time to prevail with us to afford them a helping hand, and such as seem to us to be arguments of so very great force, as to soften you in their favour, and to give them entire satisfaction and contentment, whether you look to the merit of the suppliants, or the reasonableness of the things which they ask. For we are persuaded, that your own naturally generous and royal disposition will not suffer to escape your memory the service of those who have shown them with the greatest effect at a time when they had the least chance of deriving profit therefrom, and who have given such remarkable proofs of their bravery in the same dangers up to this time; — the want of a like virtue in those who, it may be, at this moment retard the goodness of your spirit, was the cause of your requiring their

fidelity; which consideration, in regard to their persons, are seconded by many others worthy of being held in just estimation from their long patience, conformity to the order of your affairs and the simplicity of their procedure. For they have certified to us that they have not assembled to treat of their affairs but by your consent and authority, in memory of their services, to the same end, that they may devise means for self-security against the malice of those who bear them a grudge. We have observed, moreover, from what has passed between them and our deputies, that the demands they make are very inferior to the favours of the conditions tendered them by other sovereigns who had not so much cause to recognize them as you have, even to the edict of January, by consent of the states of your kingdom granted by him who had only had experience of their arms, to which necessity had compelled them to resort.'

They appeal, moreover, that the aim and end of their pursuits originate neither in a love of change, in ambition, nor in any other design but the security of their lives, their property and consciences, to which every man is naturally stimulated, and which cannot in justice be withheld from those who constitute such considerable members of your state, and who have so much recommended and signalized themselves by their services towards your person.

There is, besides, another reason which obliges us to speak with such frankness on this subject, and which arises entirely out of the anxiety we feel for whatever can affect the welfare of your person, or that of your state, *viz.* the observation which we have made in regard to the manner of proceeding adopted by those who are in higher authority about your person in respect to those of the reformed religion. We have always been of opinion that it was by *design* that those

persons rendered you hard of reconciliation towards the latter, in order that, by weakening their creed, they might enhance their own, and, as it were, impose upon you the necessity of placing your confidence and reliance exclusively upon themselves and their measures, — an advice of course highly advantageous to them as the authors; but if it is expedient to abide hereby, you will take this consideration to account, that by so doing, you deprive yourself of the confidence, good wishes, support, and loyalty of those servants who have signalized their devotion and attachment with their blood, to throw yourself into the arms of others who have but very lately against very obstinate enemies. Not that it is our design to engender suspicions between you and your loyal servants, but only to remind you (in case you will not be offended with the counsels of one who, thank God, has had the experience of a long reign,) that it is more in conformity with duty and royal prudence, so to demean ourselves as equals towards our subjects, according to the equity of their cause, than to encroach upon them with the partialities of caprice, which advice we pray you to take in such part as you shall consider the purity of that source from which it flows, *viz.* from sincere friendship; and to weigh in the same balance whatever else we have solicited in behalf of a class of people most worthy of your favour, and to believe that the urgency with which their suit has been pressed, arises out of on other consideration but that feeling of compassion which, as is natural to us towards all classes of the afflicted, has not a more able testimony of its sincere operations (when there has been cause for its display,) than in yourself (if) when it was your case to interest us in their favour. Should there be none about you who would attach another construction, in order to frustrate our recommendation, we do assure ourselves that they will

be recognised by you as entitled to bear those marks of justice and reason, as exercised by her who has so acted as to merit their respect in reasonable things, and as such have the (honour, however decried by their enemies) of having been the friends of your youth, the companions of your afflictions, the instruments (of your authority,) and the principal agents for your better fortunes.

Wherefore we beseech him (who is the Author) long to preserve you, and to impart to you his divine grace.

Most high and mighty Prince, our dear and well-beloved Brother and Cousin, the council and advice

. Written at our house at Richmond, this 21st of Sept. 1597, and of our reign the 36th.

Your very affectionate Sister,
Elizabeth.

No. XIII.

King James to the King of France.

Very high, very excellent, and very mighty Prince, our right dear and well-beloved good brother, cousin, and ancient ally.

We give in charge to our envoy the Baron of Istria Weyms, to communicate certain particulars on our part, of which we are assured he will faithfully acquit himself according to the instructions we have given him; and we pray to have the same confidence and faith in what he shall state in our name as you would in yourself. Praying God very high &c. to have you in his most sacred keeping. Written from Falkland, this 24th day of October, 1597.

Your very affectionate Brother, and Cousin,
James R.

No. XIV.

Elizabeth of Bohemia to ———.

Madame my Cousin,

I return you my very humble thanks for your having been pleased to congratulate me on my arrival in these parts. The obligation whereof is the greater, inasmuch as it has been conferred through the medium of my very dear cousin the Duchess of Trimouille, than whom you could have made choice of none to be the bearer of your affection who better knows the devotedness to your service here, or whom I honour more than the said Duchess for her almost inimitable virtuous qualities.

Be pleased, therefore, to receive from her lips, the assurance of my reciprocal friendship, and to believe that I remain inviolably,

Madam, my Cousin,

Your most affectionate Cousin,

Heidelberg, Elizabeth.

23 Octr. 1613.

No. XV.

From the same to ———.

Sir, my Cousin,

The Count d' Schomberg having arrived here, according to your commands has delivered me your letter. I thank you most affectionately for the kind you take in me, and above all, for the benevolence and regard to ancient alliances manifested in your friendship for the Elector, and for the assurance of its continuance. Be pleased, therefore, to accept the assurance of my affection, of which, on every occasion that offers, I shall

give you unequivocal proofs. Praying, moreover, the Eternal to have you in his holy keeping, I conclude the present; remaining always,

My Lord and Cousin,

Your very affectionate Cousin,

Heidelberg, Elizabeth.
18 Jan. 1607.

No. XVI.

King Charles to Monsieur de Bellieure.

Woburn, 26 July, 1647.

Monsieur,

The present opportunity is so safe that there is no danger in my writing without cypher; and I have no doubt in trusting the bearer to inform you of what is of primary importance. The principal object of my writing this is to send the (enclosed) note that it may be reduced to *cypher*, as hitherto in use between us. So, committing myself to my Lord Lauderdale, I conclude with the assurance that you will find me, on all occasions,

Your very good friend,
Charles R.

No. XVII.

From the same to the same.

England, Saturday, 13 Nov. 1647.

Monsieur,

I have to desire you will send the inclosed letter to my wife, and assure all my friends that I am in health, at liberty, and constant, and that I shall not pass out of

England but in case of absolute necessity. In which you will oblige

Your very good friend,
Charles R.

No. XVIII.

Act of King Charles in favour of Baron Schomberg.

Charles R.

Wee do certifie by these presents all whome it may concerne, That We have given our Royal assent to the naturalization of Frederigo, Baron of Schonberg, in our Kingdome of Scotlande, and that We shall readily concur in all acts for the further ratification thereof, which may render him, the saide Baron of Schonberg, capable of all privileges and immunities to which any further natives of our kingdom of Scotlande may lawfully pretende vnto, as well without as within the limits thereof.

XIX.

Queen Anne to the Queen Regent.

Madam, my good Sister,

I have always considered it as a great hardship, that princes are deprived of social intercourse with one another, a circumstance which prevents their having the pleasure of expressing in plain terms their mutual affection, and I therefore gladly embrace the present opportunity of sending you these few words by the lady who is going that way to join her husband, M. Edmonds, Ambassador in ordinary to the King, giving her in charge to present to you my affectionate regards, with the assurance that it will at all times afford me great

pleasure to hear news of your prosperity, that of the King, your son, which I pray God, madam, to be pleased to continue to you,

Your most affectionate Sister and Cousin,

Anna R.

No. XX.

Queen Anne to her most Christian Majesty.

Madam, my Sister,

Having received by the lady of M. de Buiffeant assurances of your uninterrupted affection towards me, and an opportunity presenting itself by the return of M. de la Brodeve, I have wished to reciprocate the sentiment by an assurance of the unchangeableness of my own. M. de la Brodeve will testify to you, better than any other, the zeal I have always observed, to have that mutual affection strengthened by deeds. The prudence, diligence, and fidelity, which he has made use of in the execution of his charge, render it very desirable that this person, rather than any other hitherto employed on all required occasions, should be intrusted with the correspondence of our mutual friendship, which on my part shall always be as sincere and constant as heretofore, resolved to remain

Your most affectionate sister and cousin,

Anna R.

STATE OF THE THERMOMETER,

FROM DIURNAL OBSERVATION DURING THE JOURNEY IN RUSSIA, FINLAND, AND AT STOCKHOLM.

Date. 1824.		Deg.
	Mittau.	
July 8.	4 P.M. -	74
	5 P.M. -	72
	8 Ditto -	68
9.	9 A.M. -	65
	Riga.	
	11 P.M. -	70
10.	9 A.M. -	67
	2 P.M. -	75
	5 Ditto -	71
	11 Ditto -	68
11.	9 A.M. great fall of rain during night.	68
	1 P.M. rain	69
	6 Ditto -	68
	9 Ditto—rained all night	63
12.	9 A.M. rain -	62
	1 P.M. -	67
	On the Road.	
	6 P.M. -	65
13.	4 A.M. -	60
	7 Ditto -	68
	11 P.M. -	75
	11 Ditto -	65
	4 Ditto -	64
	8 Ditto -	62
	10 Ditto -	60
	4 A.M. -	61

Date. 1824.		Deg.
July 13.	9 A.M. rain -	69
	11 Ditto, thunder and lightning -	65
	Mid-day, rain -	64
	2 P.M. -	68
14.	5 Ditto -	64
	8 Ditto -	59
	Dorpat.	
	9 A.M. -	68
15.	2 P.M. -	65
	6 Ditto -	66
	10 Ditto -	62
16.	8 A.M. -	65
	On the Road.	
	12 Mid-day -	70
	7 P.M. -	70
	9 Ditto -	63
17.	6 A.M. -	65
	9 Ditto -	68
	1 P.M. hottest day during journey -	78
	7 P.M. -	69
	10 Ditto -	65
18.	9 A.M. -	69
	Mid-day -	70
	3 P.M. -	72
	6 Ditto -	67
	9 Ditto -	70

Date. 1824.		Deg.
	On the Road.	
July 18.	9 P. M.	70
19.	4 A. M.	62
	8 Ditto	67
	10 Ditto	72
	1 P. M.	74
	4 Ditto	68
	9 Ditto	64
	Petersburgh.	
20.	9 A. M. rain	64
	4 P. M.	68
	9 Ditto	65
21.	8 A. M.	61
	1 P. M.	70
	3 Ditto, rain	72
	7 Ditto, rain	68
	10 Ditto	58
22.	8 A. M.	59
	11 Ditto	63
	1 P. M.	62
	3 Ditto	63
	7 Ditto, rain	64
	10 Ditto	58
	11 Ditto	61
23.	9 A. M.	58
	11 Ditto	61
	3 P. M.	69
	9 Ditto	58
24.	9 A. M.	60
	3 P. M.	72
	10 Ditto	62
25.	9 A. M.	64
	1 P. M.	68
	6 Ditto	74
	10 Ditto	68
26.	9 A. M.	65
	12 Mid-day	71
	3 P. M. rain	73
	5 Ditto, rain	69
	12 Mid-night	61
27.	8 A. M.	62
	5 P. M.	68
	9 Ditto	62
	11 Ditto	60

Date. 1824.		Deg.
July 28.	7 A. M.	62
	1 P. M. rain	64
	11 Ditto	59
29.	8 A. M.	61
	12 Mid-day	62
	2 P. M.	64
	4 Ditto	62
	11 Ditto, rain	60
30.	8 A. M.	60
	11 Ditto	62
	2 P. M. rain	60
	6 Ditto	64
	9 Ditto	59
31.	8 A. M.	55
	2 P. M.	64
Aug. 1.	10 A. M.	60
	2 P. M.	70
	Cronstadt.	
	5 P. M.	69
	7 Ditto	63
2.	9 A. M.	65
	12 Mid-day	69
	6 P. M. thunder and rain	74
3.	9 A. M.	70
	12 Mid-day	70
	5 P. M.	65
	8. P. M. rain	63
	Petersburg.	
4.	9 A. M.	63
	2 P. M.	70
	5 Ditto	71
	11 Ditto	68
5.	8 A. M.	65
	4 P. M.	76
	11 Ditto	70
6.	7 A. M.	67
	12 Mid-day	71
	1 P. M. thunder, lightning, and heavy rain	60
	4 P. M. rain	68

Date. 1824.		Deg.
Aug. 6.	5 P. M. rain	65
	10 Ditto	63
7.	7 A. M. heavy rain	62
	10 Ditto	65
	12 Mid-day	68
	5 P. M.	68
	10 Ditto	64
8.	4 A. M. rained torrents during night	63
	11 Ditto, rain	66
	3 P. M. rain	65
	7 Ditto	63
	9 Ditto	60
9.	9 A. M.	56
	12 Mid-day, rain	54
	6 P. M.	56
	11 Ditto	55
10.	8 A. M.	56
	12 Mid-day	60
	4 P. M.	64
	10 Ditto	60
11.	9 A. M.	60
	2 P. M.	65
	4 Ditto, rain	63
	8 Ditto	65
	10 Ditto	62
12.	9 A. M.	60
	5 P. M.	65
	8 Ditto	57
	10 Ditto	55
13.	8 A. M.	55
	Road to Moscow.	
	10 Ditto	57
	12 Mid-day	59
	6 P. M.	66
	8 Ditto	57
	12 Mid-night	55
14.	6 A. M.	60
	9 Ditto	63
	1 P. M.	63
	6 Ditto	60
15.	9 A. M.	63
	2 P. M.	62

Date. 1824.		Deg.
Aug. 15.	4 P. M. rain	63
16.	4 A. M.	46
	7 Ditto	57
	10 Ditto	65
	1 P. M.	66
	6 Ditto	67
17.	7 Ditto	64
	9 A. M.	65
	12 Mid-day	68
	3 P. M.	63
	6 Ditto, heavy rain	60
	12 Midnight	62
18.	4 A. M.	57
	8 Ditto	58
	12 Mid-day	58
	2 P. M.	61
	3 Ditto	60
	6 Ditto	62
	8 Ditto	63
	Moscow.	
19.	9 A. M.	65
	2 P. M.	65
	5 Ditto	64
	7 Ditto	63
	10 Ditto	63
20.	8 A. M.	62
	5 P. M.	68
	9 Ditto	62
	10 Ditto	62
21.	10 A. M.	63
	4 P. M.	65
	7 Ditto	68
22.	10 A. M.	64
	2 P. M.	68
	10 Ditto	59
23.	5 A. M.	50
	10 Ditto	54
	4 P. M.	68
	7 Ditto	67
	8 Ditto	65
	10 Ditto	62
24.	9 A. M.	65
	4 P. M.	67

Date. 1824.		Deg.
Aug. 24.	10 P. M. lightning	65
25.	9 A. M.	65
	12 Mid-night	68
	4 P. M.	67.
	6 Ditto, heavy rain	62
	9 Ditto	60
26.	9 A. M.	48
	1 P. M.	61
	5 Ditto	60
	7 Ditto	58
	11 Ditto	52
27.	9 A. M.	55
	4 P. M.	62
	6 Ditto	59
	8 Ditto	58
	9 Ditto	57
	10 Ditto	54
28.	9 A. M.	58
	12 Mid-day	61
	5 P. M.	60
	7 Ditto	58
	8 Ditto	50
	10 Ditto	58
29.	11 A. M.	60
	3 P. M. rain	60
	7 Ditto	59
30.	3 P. M.	62
	5 Ditto	61
	7 Ditto	61
31.	9 A. M.	55
	2 P. M.	58
	9 A. M.	55
	7 Ditto	58
	9 Ditto	56
Sept. 1.	9 A. M.	58
	3 P. M.	61
	9 A. M.	56
	8 Ditto	62
	9 A. M. left Moscow for Petersburg	63
2.		

Date. 1824.		Deg.
	On the Road.	
Sept. 2.	2 P. M.	70
	7 Ditto	70
3.	6 A. M.	65
	8 Ditto, rain and lightning	62
	9 Ditto	60
	12 Mid-day, rain	61
	6 P. M.	54
	9 Ditto	50
4.	8 A. M. not a cloud to be seen	55
	10 A. M.	52
	1 P. M.	52
	5 Ditto	52
	7 Ditto	49
5.	5 A. M. frost, severe cold	52
	8 A. M.	52
	12 Mid-day	60
	1 P. M.	65
	6 Ditto	68
6.	7 A. M.	52
	9 Ditto	50
	12 Mid-day	55
	3 P. M.	68
	6 Ditto	67
7.	7 A. M.	52
	9 Ditto	70
	12 Mid-day	73
	3 P. M.	76
	6 Ditto	68
	7 Ditto	65
	10 Ditto	60
	Petersburg.	
8.	10 A. M. lightning	63
	3 P. M.	63
	6 Ditto, rain	67
	10 Ditto	64
9.	9 A. M.	60
	11 Ditto	65

Date. 1824.		Deg.
Sept. 9.	2 P. M. -	65
	4 Ditto -	65
	10 Ditto -	57
10.	8 A. M. -	56
	11 Ditto -	55
	2 P. M. -	70
	6 Ditto -	66
	10 Ditto, lightning -	64
11.	8 A. M. -	62
	11 Ditto -	70
	1 P. M. -	75
	3 Ditto -	77
	6 Ditto -	62
12.	8 A. M. -	59
	10 Ditto -	60
	2 P. M. -	61
	5 Ditto -	65
	9 Ditto -	58
	11 Ditto -	56
13.	7 A. M. -	52
	9 Ditto -	55
	11 Ditto -	61
	1 P. M. -	61
	4 Ditto -	65
	6 Ditto -	62
	8 Ditto -	60
	10 Ditto -	61
14.	8 A. M. -	60
	10 Ditto, rain	63
	4 P. M. -	67
	7 Ditto -	63
	10 Ditto -	60
15.	7 A. M. -	55
	10 Ditto -	60
	1 P. M. -	62
	4 Ditto -	64
	10 Ditto -	60
16.	9 A. M. -	61
	11 Ditto -	65
	4 P. M. -	69
	6 Ditto -	62
	8 Ditto -	62
	11 Ditto, thunder, lightning, and heavy rain	60

Date. 1824.		Deg.
Sept. 17.	8 A. M. -	62
	4 P. M. -	62
	6 Ditto -	62
	8 Ditto -	61
	10 Ditto -	60
18.	7 A. M. -	58
	10 Ditto -	62
	1 P. M. -	66
	5 Ditto -	64
	10 Ditto -	60
	11 Ditto -	58
19.	9 A. M. -	60
	5 P. M. -	63
	7 Ditto, great fog -	62
	9 Ditto, clear	60
	11 Ditto -	57
20.	7 A. M. frost	51
	9 Ditto -	55
	1 P. M. -	58
	5 Ditto -	65
	7 Ditto -	59
21.	5 A. M. -	55
	6 P. M. -	49
22.	5 A. M. fog -	52
	8 Ditto -	55
	10 Ditto -	60
	2 P. M. -	74
	4 Ditto -	67
23.	7 A. M. fog -	55
	10 Ditto, fog	60
	12 Mid-day -	65
	2 P. M. -	70
	4 Ditto -	67
	6 Ditto -	60
24.	7 A. M. -	60
	10 Ditto -	64
	12 Mid-day -	68
	3 P. M. -	64
	6 Ditto -	65
	9 Ditto -	64
25.	9 A. M. -	63
	3 P. M, rain -	64
	8 Ditto, rain -	65
26.	7 A. M. -	57
	9 Ditto -	58

Date. 1824.		Deg.
Sept. 26.	12 Mid-day	59
	2 P. M.	60
	4 Ditto, wind	59
	6 Ditto	61
	8 Ditto	62
27.	6 A. M. heavy rain and wind	59
	8 Ditto, rain and wind	55
	10 Ditto, rain	55
	12 Mid-day, rain	56
	3 P. M. rain	55
	5 Ditto, rain	55
	9 Ditto, heavy rain	58
28.	9 A. M.	50
	1 P. M.	55
	3 Ditto	55
	7 Ditto, rain	55
29.	8 A. M. rain	50
	1 P. M.	52
	5 Ditto, rain	50
	10 Ditto, very heavy rain	50
30.	8 A. M.	50
	10 Ditto	55
	3 P. M.	55
Oct. 1.	8 A. M.	55
	10 Ditto	57
	12 Mid-day	58
	3 P. M. left Abo	58
	10 A. M.	60
2.	Voyage to Stockholm.	
	12 Mid-day	64
	3 P. M.	60
	5 Ditto	60
	8 Ditto	61
3.	9 A. M.	60
	11 Ditto	65
	3 P. M.	63
	7 Ditto	60
4.	9 A. M.	60

Date. 1824.		Deg.
Oct. 4.	1 P. M.	61
	6 Ditto	62
5.	9 A. M. rain	60
	1 P. M.	54
	2 Ditto	55
	9 Ditto	48
	11 Ditto	49
6.	10 A. M. rain	61
	7 P. M.	60
7.	10 A. M.	60
	1 P. M.	60
	5 Ditto rain	55
8.	7 A. M.	60
	10 Ditto, fog and rain	62
	12 Mid-day, fog and rain	61
	8 P. M. Arrival at Stockholm.	59
	Stockholm.	
9.	10 A. M.	55
	2 P. M.	54
10.	8 A. M. snow	50
	10 Ditto	40
	1 P. M. snow	39
	4 Ditto	38
	8 Ditto	40
11.	9 A. M.	38
	1 P. M.	45
	3 Ditto	40
	10 Ditto	40
12.	8 A. M.	40
	1 P. M.	47
	4 Ditto	47
13.	8 A. M.	41
	1 P. M.	50
	4 Ditto	45
	10 Ditto	45
14.	8 A. M.	43
	12 Mid-day	47
	3 P. M.	47

THE END.

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